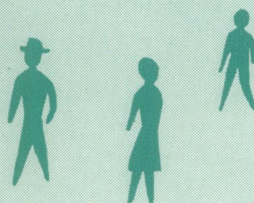
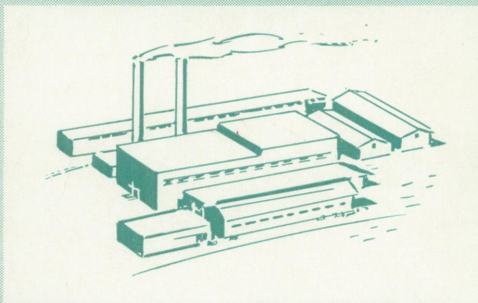
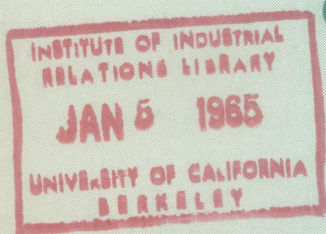


Negroes  
(1960)

# Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro:

## AN ANALYSIS



NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

270 Broadway • New York City, N. Y.

**STATE OF NEW YORK**  
**Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Governor***

**STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION**  
**Division of Research**

**APPRENTICES, SKILLED CRAFTSMEN AND THE NEGRO:**  
**An Analysis**

# NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

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## FOREWORD

The established policy of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is to exert every effort to ascertain through research the facts prior to embarking upon any overall program designed to remedy discriminatory conditions. This volume presents the findings of a comprehensive survey of the field of apprenticeship and skilled craftsmanship and illustrates the initial approach of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination to an area in which the problems with respect to Negroes are long-standing and of exceptional difficulty.

The time-honored practices surrounding the selection of candidates for apprenticeship and the reality of the economic stringencies facing the potential aspirant represent barriers which may thwart any young man irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin, but these factors operate with particular potency in the case of the Negro.

Although the focus in the present study is upon the state of New York and the issue of Negro apprentices, a wider net has been cast to encompass the role of apprenticeship in both its national and historical aspects. In fact, if all references to the racial aspect were excised, the work would continue to stand as a significant contribution to knowledge bearing on this sector of our economy.

In recounting the record of racial integration in apprenticeship, Harry C. Harris, who prepared this report as a staff member of the Commission, has permitted the facts to carry their own message. All known factors contributing to the contemporary picture have been assembled and set forth in an attempt to reach to the root of the difficulties attending the integration of Negroes into apprenticeship programs.

The sting of honest evaluation can be softened and eventually relegated to the past if concrete steps are taken to restructure the conditions which have created the problems. On this score, the Commission looks forward to the future with warranted confidence.

First, a multi-pronged approach developed with the full cooperation of the New York State Department of Labor and its subsidiary,



the State Apprenticeship Council, has been put into operation and will unquestionably prove its worth in the immediate years to come.

Second, the experience of the Commission has demonstrated that in most, if not all, instances where employment or acceptance into training programs has been based solely on merit and such a policy has been actively publicized and made known to potential candidates, qualified individuals have availed themselves of the new opportunity.

There is ample justification for the prediction that apprenticeship in all industries will, in time, represent training for a life work to which youth can aspire free from any handicap based on race, color, creed or national origin.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Elmer F. Carter".

CHAIRMAN, New York State  
Commission Against Discrimination

April, 1960

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## **PART ONE**

### **THE BACKGROUND**

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### *I. Introduction*

Apprenticeship is the process involving the transfer of skills, lore, methods, and job content of the skilled-craftsman to the aspiring artisan. It is a combination of productive labor and education, a system of learning by doing which involves trial and error procedures and a high degree of initiative. Apprenticeship embraces manual skills which are sufficiently broad to be employed in kindred specific occupations, rather than being of restricted application.

The apprentice is the youth engaged in learning the procedures and substance of an occupation from an individual who has achieved mastery in his craft. The apprentice approximates the skills of the craftsman, after serious effort and long experience, through a defined program of on-the-job work and related instruction in his chosen vocation.

The craftsman is a person who possesses distinctive traits and abilities, a personal capital of manual skills not usually held by other members of the labor force. His versatility, adaptability, resourcefulness and competence allow him to teach others, to meet new situations, to understand the significance of and relationships involved in his trade, and to produce material products of value.

This study was undertaken to evaluate the status of nonwhites in skilled craft occupations and related apprenticeship training programs in New York State. The analysis was also designed to uncover the factors which tend to inhibit the entrance of Negro youth into the skilled trades through apprenticeship programs.

Part One of the study serves as the background. In this portion, a review is made of the contemporary position and attendant problems of Negro craftsmen, especially as these relate to the future skilled manpower requirements of industry. The problem of Negro craftsmen and apprentices, as well as apprenticeship itself, is also



viewed in its historical dimensions in Part One. Finally, an exposition is given of the structure, process and scope of registered apprenticeship programs in New York State.

Part Two is based largely on an empirical analysis of the relation of Negroes to the formal apprenticeship process in New York. The status of Negroes as apprentices is described in the introduction to this segment of the analysis.

Following this, an attempt is made to assess the factors which inhibit participation by Negroes in this form of skilled-craft training. The arrangement of material moves from general limiting factors through intermediate ones, and culminates in a consideration of specific limitations on the entrance by Negroes into apprenticeship programs.

The study was carried out by the Commission, with the active cooperation and assistance of segments of labor, industry and government involved in apprenticeship programs. The analysis represents a continuing effort on the part of the Commission to find and describe discriminatory employment policies, practices and patterns which are evidenced in New York. Where these are established, the Commission moves to prevent and eliminate them through regulatory and educational activities. Consequently, this analysis will provide the basis for activities which can rectify known instances of discrimination in apprenticeship training programs and skilled-craft employment.

## II. *The Need for Craftsmen in the Coming Years*

By 1965, the population of the United States is expected to reach 193.3 million persons. To support this population, the nation will have to produce goods and services worth 560 billion dollars. This will require an estimated labor force of 79.2 million persons, taking into account trends toward greater productivity and shorter hours. A labor force of this magnitude will necessitate an increase of about 16% beyond present employment levels. Approximately 5 million additional male workers will be needed to meet the nation's manpower requirements in 1965.<sup>1\*</sup>

This level of employment, along with significant economic trends, will call forth substantial changes in the occupational distribution of the civilian labor force. Employment in some occupational groupings will rise markedly; in others, it will remain constant or decline. In

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\* Footnotes are placed at the end of each chapter.

the skilled-craft component at the national level, it is expected that an increase in employment of one fourth will occur.<sup>2</sup>

New York State will be faced with a similar situation over the next years. The state will probably require an annual increase of 12,000 skilled craftsmen to meet the growth needs of its economy. An additional annual increment of 16,000 skilled craftsmen will be needed to offset attrition due to death, retirement and geographical and occupational changes. Totally, needed accessions will run at the level of 28,000 yearly or 168,000 between 1959 and 1965.<sup>3</sup>

The demand for additional manpower will affect various skilled occupational groupings differently. Nationally, there will be a "... continued upward trend in the employment of skilled building trade workers . . . during the late 1950's and early 1960's. The rate of employment increase for these craftsmen is expected to be greater than that of the nation's total labor force."<sup>4</sup> In printing, the expected rise will probably be lower than that anticipated for the total labor force.<sup>5</sup> For the metal trades grouping, skilled-craft employment as a whole should increase substantially.<sup>6</sup>

There are no exact estimates covering the expected rise in skilled-craft employment in the construction, printing, service and transportation industries of New York. They will probably follow the national pattern.<sup>7</sup> A recent study of manpower requirements in selected metal crafts in New York State suggests that skilled-craft employment in this industrial grouping will expand substantially.<sup>8</sup>

Within the various skilled occupational groupings, employment will vary by specific occupations: In printing "... the largest proportionate job increase can be expected among pressmen and lithographic workers . . . Little increase is expected in the number of skilled composing room workers."<sup>9</sup> Growth will be high in the construction industry for bricklayers, cement and concrete masons, operating engineers, sheet metal workers, plumbers and pipe fitters and electricians, and low for paperhangers, painters, stone masons and marble setters.<sup>10</sup> In New York State, and in the metal crafts, expansion rates will also tend to vary by specific skilled occupations.<sup>11</sup>

To meet its skilled and other manpower requirements, the nation will have to utilize more effectively all segments of the labor force in the next few years. The need for the better deployment of the labor force arises from two major factors: (1) the skewing of the age-distribution of the population; and (2) the curtailment of immigration.

In support of item (1), it may be noted that there will be an absolute decline in the number of individuals in the prime age work

group (25-44) by 1965. At the same time, those in the age ranges 5-24 and 45 and above will evidence a marked rise.<sup>12</sup> Item (2) is borne out by the fact that only 10,000 skilled workers currently immigrate to the United States each year. This may be contrasted to the 19 million immigrants who came to this nation between 1900 and 1930, many of whom were highly skilled workers.<sup>13</sup>

As a consequence, the nation will have to rely on internal sources of labor supply for skilled craftsmen. It will have to train and employ younger and older skilled craftsmen, both male and female. In this respect New York State's position can be expected to parallel that of the nation as a whole.<sup>14</sup>

### III. *Meeting the Need Through Apprenticeship Programs*

Apprenticeship should stand as the prime mode of training the nation's skilled craftsmen during the coming years. Most observers agree that reliance on formal skilled-craft training will be necessitated by the more exacting requirements for technical competence and versatility demanded by advanced automatic machinery. Apparently, it will be impossible for workers to "pick up" requisite skills. It is improbable that job dilution or informal methods of skilled training will suffice to meet the employment exigencies created by new fabricating processes.<sup>15</sup> Automation, rather than decreasing the need for skilled craftsmen, should tend to augment the requirement for manual specialists. Because of its comprehensiveness, apprenticeship is strategically suited to train skilled craftsmen.

Historically, training for skilled-craft occupations in the United States: ". . . has taken place mostly outside of formal training programs and through processes which appear to be 'natural' rather than consciously directed and planned."<sup>16</sup> Currently, apprenticeship is not the major process by which skilled-craft status is usually obtained. Of the 250,000 workers who are estimated to reach artisan rank annually, almost 160,000 are presumed to have acquired their skills through informal training and experience. Less than half of the remainder complete registered or non-registered apprenticeship programs.<sup>17</sup>

In New York State, too, apprenticeship is a deviant form of skilled-craft preparation. Of the minority of plants in the metal trades which have some form of skilled-craft training systems, only 26 percent give instructions under registered apprenticeship programs. Another third of the trainees are in formal, non-registered apprenticeship programs.<sup>18</sup> Totally, only 3,940 apprentices to all trades graduated from, or dropped out of, registered apprenticeship

programs in New York State between January and September 1958.<sup>19</sup> This does not even begin to meet the state's annual requirement of 28,000 new craftsmen. Moreover, the situation has not been improving. The current total enrollment of 14,064 registered apprentices represents a marked decrease from the high of 29,366 reported in 1948. The present level has remained relatively constant since 1952, indicating that the supply of craftsmen coming up through apprenticeship has fallen farther and farther behind the demand.<sup>20</sup>

The data have serious implications. In the opinion of the National Manpower Council:

"It is clear that the lack of skilled workers can impede economic expansion, and that technological advances depend as much on the availability of skilled and technical labor as upon the contributions of scientists and professionally trained workers."<sup>22</sup>

Failure to adequately train the nation's skilled labor force can lead to the impairment of the country's productive capacity, with obvious implications therein for its defense position.

In summation, the nation and state will probably be faced with a significant need for additional manpower in the next few years, a need which will be especially pronounced in some skilled-craft occupations in some industries and cannot be met through immigration or the utilization of individuals in the prime age-work group. However, this crucial shortage can be overcome through the proper utilization of older and younger male and female workers and, in particular, through training in formal apprenticeship programs. Since these programs have not and are not meeting the skilled manpower requirements of industry, they must be utilized to a greater degree in order to meet the demands of new fabricating processes and to maintain and increase the nation's economic and military capabilities.

#### *IV. Under-representation of the Negro*

The foregoing section has particular implications for the labor force position of Negroes in New York State when other data and information are taken into account. First, both historically and currently Negroes have not been utilized by industry in the skilled-craft component of the labor force. Thus they constitute at present a relatively untapped source of labor supply which can be used to meet the skilled manpower requirements of New York State. Second, apprenticeship has not been, nor is it presently, a significant mode of entry for Negroes into skilled-craft occupations.

The first fact to be noted is that nonwhites constituted 7.7 percent of the population of New York State in April 1957. This popula-



tion of 1,260,000 persons, 96 percent of whom are Negroes, represents an increase of almost one-third since 1950.<sup>22</sup> While data are lacking on the present position of Negroes in the labor force, the magnitude and rate of such a population change suggest that Negroes necessarily constitute an important segment of the present New York labor force.

Their significance as a source of supply for skilled-craft occupations is enhanced by their concentration in urban areas where the projected demand for craftsmen is highest.<sup>23</sup> It is also promoted by the favorable age distribution of the group. In New York City, for example, it is estimated that the nonwhite population in the prime age-work group will increase by 10 percent by 1970. The white population, on the other hand, is expected to decrease by 36 percent in this age category.<sup>24</sup>

While the history of Negroes with respect to the skilled-craft occupations can be reconstructed, the present position of Negro skilled craftsmen is unknown. It is, therefore, impossible to state with certitude that Negroes are far from being fully utilized by New York industry in skilled-craft occupations. However, 1950 Census data tend to suggest such a conclusion. [See Tables 1 and 2, Appendix A.] Analysis of the data show that:

1. Nonwhite males constituted 5.4 percent of the total employed males in 1950 but only 2.9 percent of the employed skilled craftsmen.

2. To achieve skilled-craft representation similar to that enjoyed by white males in 1950, nonwhite males would have had to increase their representation by 9.1 percentage points in that year.

3. When specific skilled-craft occupations are compared, nonwhites are over-represented in 11 and under-represented in 20, using the occupational distribution of all craftsmen as the reference point.

4. Over-representation of nonwhite occurs most often in skilled-craft jobs having relatively low status and prestige and offering smaller monetary rewards; and, of course, conversely.<sup>25</sup>

Some improvement has undoubtedly taken place in the past nine years. It is doubtful that it has been of a magnitude to allow nonwhites to achieve the skilled-craft position which was enjoyed by white New Yorkers in 1950. Indeed, if the latter group has made any significant advances, nonwhites may have suffered a comparative loss in skill-craft relationships between 1950 and 1959. In all probability, the relationships have not changed.<sup>26</sup>

Historically, apprenticeship has been even less of a training

vehicle for Negroes than for whites. This is borne by various data and information:

1. In 1940, only 36 of the 7,421 apprentices enumerated in New York were Negro.<sup>27</sup>

2. By 1950, the number of apprentices had grown to 10,111 but only 152 of these were nonwhite. Thus, while nonwhite males constituted 5.4 percent of the employed males in the state, they made up only 1.5 percent of the apprentices.<sup>28</sup>

3. Currently, about 2 percent of the approximately 15,000 registered apprentices in New York State are Negro.<sup>29</sup>

Two studies recently concluded by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination throw additional light on the pattern of Negro apprenticeship. One involved an analysis of the employment patterns of 33 major hotels in New York City. The findings led the Commission to recommend to the Hotel Association:

“that opportunity for apprenticeship training for higher skills, where such training is available, shall not be restricted by reason of race, color, creed or national origin.”<sup>30</sup>

The other study, conducted with the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, analyzed the employment and hiring patterns of nineteen railroads operating in New York and New Jersey. Data elicited from the study showed that the 19 carriers employed 594 apprentices, only 4 of whom were Negro.<sup>31</sup>

The lack of Negro apprentices in New York State parallels the situation for the nation as a whole. Kursh, for example, suggests that less than one percent of construction apprentices are Negro. A recent survey in San Francisco revealed that there were no Negroes in the electrical, plumbing, carpentry and ironwork apprentice programs in that area, and only one in the metal trades. Analysis of the Negro labor forces of Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids and Muskegon, Michigan, indicates the same low levels of participation by Negroes in the apprenticeship process. The same holds true for Connecticut. A similar inability to gain indentures in the building trades is reported for Negroes in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit, among other cities. In similar training courses for apprentices in Louisville or Evansville, Negroes were not enrolled. In Memphis, Negroes were to be found only in trades which they have traditionally held. In Birmingham during the six postwar years through 1951, 5 Negroes, as opposed to 651 whites, received apprenticeship training under the G.I. Bill of Rights.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, while Negroes constitute an important segment of the labor

force in New York State and are favorably placed in terms of age and geographical distribution for skilled-craft positions, they had not achieved by 1950 significant skilled-craft employment in this state. Further, in comparison with whites, they were disproportionately represented within the general classification and probably have not made any substantial progress towards rectifying the situation in recent years. Negroes have not been (and are not) represented except in the most minimal way in New York State apprenticeship programs nor do they adhere to similar vocational training systems elsewhere in the nation. As a result, Negroes are not able to close the white-nonwhite skilled occupation dichotomy through apprenticeship training. Further, the gap may be perpetuated and intensified unless remedial action is taken or unless Negroes can achieve artisan rank through informal modes of training. In the latter case, however, they will be at a competitive disadvantage with apprentice-trained white craftsmen.

#### *V. Consequences of the Under-representation*

The lack of apprentice trained Negro craftsmen, as well as the lack of skilled Negro artisans, has a series of implications for both the Negro and the general community.

For the Negro, the absence in significant numbers from artisan rank directly affects the amount of income held by the group. According to census data, the average income of skilled-craft workers ". . . was nearly 20 percent higher than that of semi-skilled workers and almost 60 percent more than that of unskilled workers."<sup>33</sup> While the skilled, less-skilled wage differential has lessened in recent years, the former still commands substantial incomes.<sup>34</sup>

The failure of Negroes to achieve substantial employment in the industries and occupations associated with the skilled crafts precludes or limits such employment as a source of relatively high income for the group. Such deprivation, in turn, becomes an additional factor which may further depress the earning power of non-whites. This limitation is reflected, in part, by data which indicate that 6.8 percent of the nonwhite households in New York City in 1952 had yearly incomes in excess of \$5000, the level of income usually commanded by skilled craftsmen. This may be contrasted to 26.9 percent for white households.<sup>35</sup> Lack of income, of course, prevents Negroes from obtaining various desirable life values and experiences and oftentimes is a factor leading to anti- or a-social patterns of behavior.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics also reports that skilled-craft workers tend to have steadier employment when compared to workers

with less skills. The low proportion of Negroes in skilled occupations necessarily removes this occupational attachment as a shelter for the group from unemployment. When added to the other factors which cause a high incidence of unemployment among Negroes—6.2 percent of whites but 13.9 percent of nonwhites in the country were unemployed in February 1959—Negro skilled-craft occupational deprivation becomes an imposing barrier to the improvement of the group's economic position.<sup>36</sup>

Skilled-craft occupations carry with them relatively high levels of social status and prestige. Their occupants receive social deference of an order higher than that commanded by other manual and by many white-collar workers. When organized, skilled craftsmen often-times exert considerable influence in and on the economic and political structures of the nation and various localities.<sup>37</sup> Since Negroes are not in these occupations, such prestige and opportunities are, to some extent, denied to the group.

The relative absence of Negroes from skilled-craft ranks also denies to them the intrinsic values which flow from artisan occupations, such as the “. . . realization of the individual's potential capacities, security . . . satisfaction [and pride] from one's work [and creativity].”<sup>38</sup>

For the general community, the barring of skilled-craft opportunities for Negroes entails increased monetary, social and psychological costs. Direct higher costs are borne by firms which reject efficient Negro craftsmen in favor of less skilled white workers. This is a labor force deployment policy which maximizes marginal labor costs.<sup>39</sup> Indirect higher costs are borne by the general community through public and private efforts aimed at eliminating personal and social disorganization in the Negro community. These are caused, in part, by the pattern of skilled-craft occupational deprivation which results in low income levels and a high incidence of unemployment. Finally, direct or indirect discrimination against Negroes in skilled-craft occupation, as with any form of discrimination, reinforces patterns of psycho-social malfunctioning in and among those who discriminate, as well as among those against whom it is directed.<sup>40</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United States Department of Labor, *Our Manpower Future, 1955-1965 Population Trends—Their Manpower Implications*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1957, *passim*. The estimates are based on the assumption that (1) there will not be any hostilities; (2) nor a major depression during the period. The gross national product is stated in constant, 1956 dollars. It is assumed that the labor force will be composed of 74.0 million



employed civilians; 2.4 million unemployed civilians; and 2.8 million persons in the armed services.

- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*. It is expected that employment will increase by one-third in the professions; one-fifth in managerial occupations; one-fourth in clerical and sales positions; and one-tenth in the service category. Domestic, agricultural and unskilled workers will probably evidence an absolute decline.

The foregoing estimates must be viewed with caution. As stated by the National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Skilled Manpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, pp. 61, 85 and 87:

Adequate forecasting requires, first, a forecast of the level of demand for goods and services in each industry and for each sector of the economy. Preliminary estimates can then be made by assuming that the number of workers in each occupation will change in direct proportion to anticipated changes in the demand for the industry's goods and services. . . . Each Industry must [also] be analyzed in terms of the forces which influence its occupational structure, including changes in the level of production and employment, changes in the distribution of production and employment among . . . firms, the availability of manpower resources, and the impact of technological change. Even if . . . changes could be stipulated, their manpower implications are not self-evident . . . moreover, the influence of the supply of manpower would still have to be determined.

- <sup>3</sup> From remarks made by Isador Lubin, former Industrial Commissioner of the State of New York, before the Commerce and Industry Association panel discussion on manpower; New York City, September 17, 1957.

- <sup>4</sup> United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, in cooperation with the Veterans Administration, *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, 1957 Edition, Bulletin No. 1215. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1957, p. 229. High demand for skilled construction workers is expected to be brought about through total construction expenditures during the 1956-66 decade of 85 to 90 billion dollars, as opposed to expenditures of about \$60 billion in 1956. The estimated expenditures will be greater due to (1) the continued shift of the population from cities to suburbs; (2) substantial highway construction anticipated from various Federal-state programs; and (3) estimated population and household increases, among other factors.

- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289. While output of printed matter is expected to increase substantially over the decade, there is no exact correlation between increased output and increased employment. The latter will probably remain relatively unchanged. This situation is due to the anticipated utilization of a number of technological developments which will increase productivity.

- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339.

- <sup>7</sup> The concentration of construction, printing, and to a lesser extent, transportation and service industries in New York State suggests that the national picture is primarily a reflection of the New York pattern.

- <sup>8</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *Manpower in Selected Metal Crafts New York State*, Part One, Publication No. B-107, New York, January 1959, p. 2:

Preliminary estimates indicate that for an adequate supply, about 23,000 workers will have to attain craftsman status in the 8-year period from 1957 to 1965. This . . . is 3.5 percent of the number employed in March 1957.

- <sup>9</sup> United States Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

- <sup>11</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

- <sup>12</sup> United States Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Persons in the age range 25-44 are expected to drop from a level of 46.9 to 46.3 million during the decade, 1955-1965. At the same time, persons in the age ranges 45-64, and 65 years of age and over, are expected to increase by 17.0 and 17.4 percent respectively. Those in the age range 5-24 will probably move from almost 33 to about 37 percent of the total population.

- <sup>13</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

- <sup>14</sup> Lubin, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Also, Charles A. Pearce, "Labor Force Trends and Governmental Responsibility," *Industrial Bulletin*, Vol. 36, No. 11, November 1957, Department of Labor, State of New York.

<sup>16</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 56. The authors state that:

An advancing technology reduces and eliminates the need for certain kinds of skilled workers . . . It also requires more and new types of skilled labor to plan and make the models of the increasingly complex machines [an advancing technology] creates, and to produce, service, control and maintain them.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter II, this report. Also, National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212. It is estimated that 40,000 persons finish registered apprentice programs each year and that 20,000 individuals drop out of such programs, though still qualifying for skilled status. Another 35,000 are partially or completely trained in non-registered apprenticeship programs; 10,000 new skilled workers are immigrants; and about 1,000 qualify after finishing vocational school. It is also estimated that only one-fifth of the workers holding skilled jobs between 1940-1950 received apprenticeship training.

<sup>18</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Only 17 percent of the 6,700 plants covered by the survey were actually engaged in training skilled craftsmen.

<sup>19</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *Statistics On Operations*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 91. Data are supplied by field representatives of the Apprenticeship Council. This is the latest published data on registered apprentices.

<sup>20</sup> Division of Research and Statistics, New York State Department of Labor, Data on: *Apprenticeship Training in New York State 1945-1957*. It should be noted that the wide discrepancy in the number of apprentices reported by the Census and the State Labor Departments, 10,111 to 26,375 in 1950, may be accounted for by (1) differing enumeration periods; (2) failure of the Census respondent to give the apprentice prefix to the occupation when counted; (3) over-enumeration of apprentices by field representatives of Apprenticeship Council; and (4) certain definitional differences.

<sup>21</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 58. The authors go on to state:

Underdeveloped societies cannot realize the potentialities of an existing technology if they do not have the requisite kinds of skilled workers. So-called advanced societies, on the other hand, are always under some pressure to facilitate the acquisition of the new orders of skills needed by a changing technology or run the risk of retarding their economic growth.

<sup>22</sup> Aaron Antonovsky and Lewis L. Lorwin, eds., *Discrimination and Low Incomes*, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, New York, 1959, pp. 74, 76.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. Ninety-seven percent of the nonwhite population resides in the seven standard metropolitan areas of New York State.

<sup>24</sup> Lubin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Data on skilled craftsmen are subject to errors in the classification of skills. Thus, the National Manpower Council (*op. cit.*, pp. 70-71) reports that a survey, using census techniques, questioning skilled craftsmen exclusively rather than other family respondents, and checking the information on wages, previous training and other criteria, revealed that 10 per cent of the reported craftsmen did not belong in the category. Other information lead to the belief that only 80 percent of those in the craftsmen category were correctly enumerated.

<sup>26</sup> This is suggested by data indicating that the proportion of nonwhites in skilled-craft employment in the United States rose by only .7 percentage points, or from 4.8 to 5.5 percent, between 1951 and 1956; comparable data for whites—14.6 to 14.3 percent. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 78th Annual Edition, 1957, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1957; also, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-50, No. 66.

<sup>27</sup> Census Bureau Bulletin, *The Labor Force, New York State, 1940* "Employed Apprentices in New York State, 1940."

<sup>28</sup> Census Bureau Bulletin, *Employed Apprentices in New York State and Standard Metropolitan Areas of 100,000 or More*, 1950, PC32, Table 77. The differential suggested here is not quite as striking when the labor force participation rates of whites and nonwhites in the most desirable apprenticeship age ranges are analyzed. Thus, 29.4 percent of the total number of males 17 years of age were in the labor force, but only 27.0 percent of the

nonwhite males of New York State in 1950 were similarly situated. This relationship of lower levels of participation by nonwhites holds for most of the other desirable single-year age categories. However, it must also be noted that 32.7 percent of the nonwhite, but only 16.1 percent of the total males in the labor force, 14-19, were unemployed in 1950, suggesting extreme underutilization of this population segment.

<sup>29</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>30</sup> Division of Research, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, *Employment in the Hotel Industry*, March 1958, *passim*. (mimeographed)

<sup>31</sup> *Railroad Employment in New York and New Jersey*, a report by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and the New Jersey Department of Education, Division Against Discrimination, February 1958, *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> Harry Kursh, *Apprenticeship in America*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1959, p. 98; United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Minority Worker Hiring and Referral in San Francisco," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 81, No. 10, October 1958, p. 1134; Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission, *A Study of Employment, Training and Placement Patterns in the Muskegon Area; The Kalamazoo Area; and The Grand Rapids Area*; (separate) Detroit, 1956 and 1957, *passim*; Henry G. Stetler, *Training of Negroes in the Skilled Trades*, State of Connecticut, Commission on Civil Rights, Hartford, 1954, pp. 53-56; National Urban League, *Negro Workers in the Building Trades in Selected Cities*; New York, May, 1946, *passim*; National Planning Association, *Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South*; Case Study No. 1, John Hope II, "Negro Employment in 3 Southern Plants of International Harvester Company," National Publishing Company, Washington, D. C., February 1955, p. 32, and Case Study No. 3, Langston Knowles, "Negro Employment in the Birmingham Metropolitan Area," p. 262.

<sup>33</sup> United States Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>34</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, *op. cit.*, Table C. National average hourly earnings in building construction was \$3.08 in July 1958; in machinery, except electrical, \$2.38; and in printing, publishing and allied trades, \$2.59. The 6,000 New York City master electricians—products of a 5 year apprenticeship—currently receive \$4.00 an hour. (*New York Post*, October 1948)

<sup>35</sup> Antonovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

<sup>36</sup> New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Division of Research, *Nonwhite Unemployment in the United States, 1947-1958, An Analysis of Trends*; New York, 1958, *passim*. The report indicates that nonwhite unemployment rate has usually doubled the white rate since 1947. The Feb. figure is based on the continuation of the compilation of these data by the Research Division of SCAD.

<sup>37</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union*, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1956, p. 31.

<sup>38</sup> Antonovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discriminations: An Economic View of Racial Discrimination*; The University of Chicago Press, 1957, p. 31. The author states:

An employer discriminates by refusing to hire someone with a marginal value product greater than marginal cost; he does not discriminate by refusing to hire someone with a marginal value product less than marginal cost.

<sup>40</sup> Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, The Committee on Social Issues, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, Report No. 37, New York, 1957, pp. 10-11.

## CHAPTER II

### AN HISTORICAL VIEW

#### *I. Apprenticeship Before the Industrial Revolution*

The first recorded mention of a system of apprenticeship is contained in the Hammurabi Code, Babylonia, 2100 B.C.<sup>1</sup> References to apprenticeship also occur in the literature of Greece in the fourth century, B.C.; in Roman Egypt in the first century, B.C. Apparently, apprenticeship was also firmly imbedded in Indian and Chinese handicraft.<sup>2</sup>

A number of features were characteristic of these early systems of handicraft training:

1. The vocational education of a youth who was not necessarily a relative of the instructing craftsman.
2. The training of the youth for a specified time period, usually at the home of the craftsman.
3. The craftsman's obligation to compensate the youth or his family for his productivity and to oversee the moral character of the apprentice.
4. The recognition of an obligation on the part of the craftsman and the apprentice to carry out the terms of the apprenticeship.
5. The active participation by the government in the system through the imposition of penalties on the party abrogating the apprenticeship.<sup>3</sup>

In terms of historical continuity and social and economic significance, apprenticeship is especially the creature of the guild system of medieval Europe. The association of craftsmen which developed in Western Europe prior to the industrial revolution gave a unique stamp to this form of occupational education. Contemporary systems of apprenticeship training are oftentimes directly related to those which had their genesis in this epoch. This is notably true of the development of apprenticeship in England and its subsequent transference to, and growth in, the United States.



Early medieval records indicate that few economic functions “. . . were differentiated and the number of specific handicraft skills was small.”<sup>4</sup> With economic growth, occupations proliferated, became more specialized and were disassociated from otherwise unfree labor. This gave impetus to the formation of associations by craftsmen with like occupations. The guilds, in turn, contributed to the further differentiation and compartmentalization of handicraft occupations.<sup>5</sup> Almost from their inception, guilds began to distinguish three gradations of craftsmen: masters, journeymen and apprentices. These gradations reflected not only the skill level of individual handicraft workers but also provided the basis for the regulation of the skilled labor supply.

In England, the systematic development of apprenticeship began in 1261 with the fixing of the term of apprenticeship of “Lorimers” at seven years and the enforcement of a “no raiding” agreement by these craftsmen for the services of apprentices. By 1300, all apprentices were officially enrolled in London, thereby preventing possible misrepresentation of status. Regulation of apprentices proceeded gradually until 1450, usually in the direction of requirements related to the dress, manner and morals of the trainees.<sup>6</sup> Some attempts were made at this time to create a condition of compulsory apprenticeship in some crafts.<sup>7</sup> By 1450, apprenticeship was practiced by most guilds in a majority of the towns and cities of England.<sup>8</sup>

Various efforts were also undertaken to limit entrance into the ranks of skilled labor. The number of apprentices were restricted by some guilds, and journeymen were required to produce a “master piece” in order to achieve the status of master craftsman. Such restrictions added to the growing social, economic and political strength of the guilds. They also provided a limited but definitive mode of entrance into a craft. Once obtained, the recipient was able to experience the various political prerogatives of “free men” and could also engage in trade.<sup>9</sup> Apprenticeship thus became the initial step to a social rank distinct from that of the English peasantry and aristocracy.

Early apprenticeship regulations were usually local customs, voluntarily adopted, flexible in content and enforced by guilds or the local political unit. In 1562, Elizabeth I promulgated “An Act containing Divers Orders for Artificers, Labourers, Servants of Husbandry and Apprentices.”<sup>10</sup> Regulation of apprenticeship thereby passed from localities to the central government and from mainly private to public sources.<sup>11</sup>

As a codification of customary guild regulations and previous enactments, the Act reflected past practices. However, it set a seven year indenture as the universal preparation for craft status; made apprenticeship compulsory; restricted entrance to the offspring of urban inhabitants and those holding real property; and provided for the indenturing of indigent youth.<sup>12</sup> These regulations tended to place additional premiums on the achievement of an apprenticeship, the successful applicant obtaining an enviable life position on the eve of the industrial revolution.<sup>13</sup>

The industrial revolution spurred the division of labor and specialization of functions. Factory production led to a growing differentiation of skill levels. New skills and trades arose. As a result of the greater significance and number of skilled occupations, apprenticeship became an even more important mode of vocational preparation in Western Europe.<sup>14</sup>

Overall, the English legacy of apprenticeship was characterized by the following features:

1. Apprenticeship was an historically acceptable method of vocational training, enveloping almost all skilled trades and considered by many to be the sole method of skilled occupational training for youth.
2. Organized by guilds, it offered a definitive procedure whereby youth could pass from lower to higher levels of skills during a prescribed period of time under the direction of a master craftsman.
3. In addition to providing occupational training, apprenticeship was used to perpetuate quality of product over generations, limit entrance into trades, fix socio-economic status, provide relief for indigent youth, and prevent competition among craftsmen.
4. Reciprocal obligations were expected from master and apprentice in both personal and employment relationships. Failure to live up to these obligations led to the imposition of penalties.
5. Government had a responsibility to oversee the apprenticeship process and, where needed, to intervene in order to achieve compliance with public policy or private agreements.

## *II. Apprenticeship in the American Colonies*

The heritage of apprenticeship began to be transferred to the New World in 1619, when 100 boys and girls, recruited mainly from the almshouse and poor population of London, were bound out by the

Mayor and Council of London to the Virginia Company which, in turn, apprenticed the youths to individual planters.<sup>15</sup> By 1640, formal written indentures were undertaken in the American Colonies. Thus:

Know all men that I, Thomas Millard, with the consent of Henry Wolcott of Windsor unto whose custody & care at whose charge I was brought over out of England into New England, doe bynd myself as an apprentice for eight years to serve William Pynchon of Springfield, his heires & assigne in all manner of lawful employmt unto the full ext of eight years beginninge the 29 day of Sept 1640 & the said William doth condition to find the said Thomas meat drinks & clothing fitting such an apprentice & at the end of his tyme one new sute of apparell & forty shillings in mony: subscribed this 28 October 1640.<sup>16</sup>

Initial governmental cognizance of apprenticeship occurred in the New Plymouth Act of 1641 and Massachusetts Bay Act of 1642. Both allowed selectmen to indenture poor children, or the children of neglectful parents, to skilled tradesmen. Besides giving apprentices vocational training, craftsmen were also required to provide the child or adolescent with some intellectual education. Thus, Massachusetts utilized apprenticeship as a means of poor relief, free primary education and vocational training.<sup>17</sup>

Coloring the American system of apprenticeship was a chronic shortage of labor. To meet this problem, a variety of recruitment methods were utilized, among them apprenticeship. Eventually, apprenticeship came to be viewed as useful “. . . not to restrict competition among workers or to protect trade standards, but as a method of securing workers.”<sup>18</sup> The use of apprenticeship as a form of labor recruitment tended to blur many of its historical characteristics and to shape the system in the grain of the American economy and character.

In the South, apprenticeship never gained a firm foothold. Indentured servants provided the area with its major source of European labor. Apprenticeship tended to give way to, or become almost indistinguishable from, the indentured servant system. By 1700, both began to decline with the ascendancy of slavery.<sup>19</sup>

Greater urbanization and a higher and more complex division of labor led to a larger utilization of apprenticeship in the North, both as a method of occupational training and as a mode of labor recruitment.<sup>20</sup> Apprenticeship also tended to retain its English heritage in the North. Indentures of seven years and written agreements were common. Masters also tended to regulate the conduct of apprentices, as witnessed by an indenture undertaken in Providence, Rhode Island

in 1716, wherein the apprentice agreed to: "secure his secrets, obey his master, do no damage to him . . . nor play cards or dice . . . nor absent himself without leave . . . nor haunt ailehouses or taverns." In turn, craftsmen commonly agreed to provide apprentices with "meat . . . drink, apparel, lodgings and washings fitting an apprentice and, [at night and in winter] . . . schooling."<sup>21</sup>

As opposed to English apprenticeship, the colonial version was not compulsory; nor was it organized and enforced by a guild system. Regulation of apprenticeship was a province solely of local government. Further, masters voluntarily agreed to give at least a modicum of intellectual training to novices. Like its English counterpart, apprenticeship in America did not provide youth with an idyllic existence.<sup>22</sup>

### III. *Negroes and Skilled Crafts Under Slavery*

In contrast to the early European immigrant, Americans of African origin derived from cultures where employment at various skilled-craft occupations was either unknown, minimal or so qualitatively removed from the substance of European skilled-craft occupations as to be without meaning in the Colonies. The organization, procedures and substance of economic life on the West Coast of Africa did not provide the area's indigenous labor force with either the materials, tools or skills necessary to the development of an artisan class in the European meaning of the term. While craftsmanship was practiced over a wide range of economic endeavors, and aptitude towards craftsmanship existed as a random, genetical-environmental phenomenon, the African cultures did not give training and experience in skilled-craft occupations related to a developing industrial and agricultural economy—the critical situation for potential American artisans. It was, in short, impossible for Africans to learn and practice, say, the skills of journeymen-printers in cultures where printing was unknown.<sup>23</sup>

As a consequence, Africans introduced to the Western Hemisphere suffered an initial disadvantage in skilled-craft training, experience and traditions in comparison to European immigrants. The opportunity to overcome this deprivation existed after the arrival of the Negroes in America and following the initial stages of acculturation. In what was probably a statistically negligible number of cases, Negroes were allowed to obtain the training and experience requisite to skilled-craft standing. Jernegan reports that, by 1649, a Virginia planter was actively utilizing Negroes in a variety of skilled

capacities. In a will probated in 1696, Thomas Coke of Virginia left a Negro tanner, “. . . with all his tools” to one of his sons.<sup>24</sup>

The impetus to teach Negroes skilled trades was brought about mainly by a chronic shortage of white artisans in the South and the demand for the products of skilled craftsmen. During the eighteenth century, Negro slaves were instructed in a variety of trades. As examples: The *South Carolina Gazette* enumerated 76 slaves trained and practicing in 28 trades in 1732. By 1744, white artisans were inveighing against the competition of Negro shipwrights in Charleston.<sup>25</sup> A Virginia newspaper mentioned a slave who was an “. . . extraordinary sawyer, a tolerable good carpenter and carrier, pretends to make shoes and is a good sailor.”<sup>26</sup> At the close of the century, a German traveler in the South commented that:

Gentlemen in the country have among their Negroes, as the Russian nobility among the serfs, the most necessary handicraftsmen, cobblers, tailors, carpenters, smiths, and the like whose work they command at the smallest possible prices or for nothing almost.<sup>27</sup>

For the vast majority of Negroes, however, the ability to achieve artisan rank was necessarily precluded by their position as bondsmen. Slavery excluded Negroes from occupations which did not fall into the labor, service or domestic categories. Accordingly, the original pattern of skilled-craft occupational deprivation was generally sustained and compounded in the South during the colonial period.

Since about ninety percent of American Negroes held slave status between 1800 and 1860,<sup>28</sup> were domiciled in the South and lived mainly in agricultural areas,<sup>29</sup> the ability of the vast majority of Negroes to gain skilled-craft status was necessarily dependent on the amount of skilled-craft employment available to southern, rural slaves. This availability was dependent on objective economic conditions in the rural South and on the subjective evaluation of the economic role of slaves made by slaveholders.

As to the latter, it was generally agreed that slaves ought not to perform occupations which required training since this could lead to situations potentially subversive of the existing Southern socioeconomic and political system. In practice and because of economic necessity, this ideological orientation was oftentimes ignored.<sup>30</sup>

On the objective economic level, a predominantly rural and agricultural economy, with low ratios of capital to labor, is not apt to provide a great number of skilled-craft employment opportunities. Moreover, those provided will be almost exclusively ancillary to agricultural pursuits. Accordingly, the possibilities of gaining skilled-

craft employment in the South were limited for both Negroes and whites.

Another limitation on the number of skilled slaves was the small number of economic units where skilled-craft specialization was both feasible and desirable. Data and information suggest that a minority of slaves were favorably situated in this respect. As a consequence, relatively few slaves were afforded the opportunity to achieve artisan rank in the ante-bellum South.

Negroes who achieved skilled occupational status performed a variety of jobs: "They were carpenters, bricklayers, painters, blacksmiths, harnessmakers, tailors and shoemakers. For even skilled labor was degraded, and whites had oftentimes been denied the opportunity of acquiring training since so many masters had preferred to work with slaves."<sup>81</sup> The selection process usually followed a pattern where: "The mechanics on the plantation were chosen from among the slaves because of their intelligence and skill. They were highly valued by their masters and, in turn, developed a pride in their skill and standing in the plantation economy."<sup>82</sup> Usually native born, ". . . the son of a house servant was apprenticed to some artisan to learn a skilled trade."<sup>83</sup> For example, a North Carolina master-artisan contract provided that the hirer was to work a young slave ". . . at the Forge during the whole time and learn him or cause him to be learned the arts and mysteries of the Black Smith's trade."<sup>84</sup> Apprenticeship was one of the common modes of training slave craftsmen, as indicated by the following advertisement in the *Augusta, Georgia Chronicle* of March 2, 1811:

Would willingly receive three Negro fellows as apprentices. The owners may confidently rely that every necessary attention will be given to their instruction.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to becoming skilled, the higher occupational status conferred on bond-artisans led to a situation where they ". . . formed with the house servants a sort of privileged class in the community."<sup>86</sup> Since both of these occupational groups contained a large number of mulattoes, it appears that social-class differentiation within the Negro community is linked directly to this primary occupational division among slaves. The Negro artisan probably enjoyed higher levels of prestige and deference and some economic advantages over his unskilled contemporaries. Moreover, the skilled craftsmen were probably less demoralized than those without specific skills. Pennington, a runaway slave, reported that ". . . my blacksmith's pride and taste was one thing that had reconciled me so long to remain a slave."<sup>87</sup>

Negro artisans also enjoyed a wider variety of economic experience and opportunities. It was “. . . very common for urban and rural owners to hire them to others at least part of the time.” Further: “Masters who owned skilled artisans . . . often provided them with shops to make their services available to all who might wish to employ them. Many white mechanics also used slave assistants.”<sup>38</sup>

This relative flexibility in the deployment of Negro skilled craftsmen was directly beneficial to slave-holders. Widows of master craftsmen “. . . often found that [they] could depend on a fair revenue from the work of slave helpers.” In addition, slaveholders could avoid subsistence payments by allowing slave artisans to hire their own time. In one case this was granted to a Negro blacksmith in Virginia who petitioned his master that he would: “. . . be much obliged to you if you would authorize me to open a shop in this country and carry it on . . . I am satisfied that I can do well and that my profits will amount to a great deal more than anyone would be willing to pay for my hire.”<sup>39</sup>

Craftsman status also led to the first urban experiences for many Negroes in the South. This urbanization, when coupled with the attainment of free-status, was mainly responsible for the initiation of small, free Negro communities in southern cities. In New Orleans and Charleston, many of the free Negro artisans accumulated considerable wealth, monopolized a number of crafts and began a tradition of Negro skilled craftsmanship.

Prior to the Civil War, it appears that a small segment of the southern Negro labor force was allowed to gain the training and experience associated with artisan status. This was particularly true on large plantations, in urban centers and the upper South. This occupational achievement led to the realization of values—monetary rewards, social position, relative and absolute freedom—completely alien to those generally available to the vast majority of southern Negroes. Moreover, the formation of this occupational elite partially reversed the historical pattern of almost total exclusion of Negroes from skilled-craft employment. Nonetheless, the proportion of southern Negroes holding this status was negligible. Skilled craftsmanship remained outside the experience of most Negroes, slave or free.

#### IV. *Negroes and Skilled Crafts in the pre-Civil War North*

Historical data and information suggest that the pattern was not substantially different in the North. As early as 1680, some Negroes were practicing skilled occupations in the building trades in New



York.<sup>40</sup> As a rule employment opportunities for Negroes in the northern colonies were extremely limited, usually because of the hostile attitudes and actions of white workers.

As a result of manumission and migration, the free Negro population of the North grew at a fairly steady rate. Occupationally, Negroes tended to monopolize many of the service jobs in various northern centers prior to the 1840's. In some cases, Negroes attained artisan rank. *The Colored American* listed three Negro carpenters and joiners, five shoemakers, one engraver, and one watchmaker in New York between 1835 and 1841. The latter year also marked the famous "Negro conspiracy," which had as its purported objective the burning of New York City. A number of Negro artisans were implicated in the "plot," the preliminary arrangements of which occurred at the homes of white fellow-craftsmen. At this time, also, small numbers of Negro artisans were reported employed in Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, among other cities.<sup>41</sup>

Competition for services and unskilled jobs in New York shaped the employment opportunities of Negro wage earners and artisans until the close of the Civil War. Rivalry for these positions began with the influx of Irish immigrants following the famine of 1846 and of German refugees from the revolution of 1848. The intensity of competition oftentimes resulted in violence, especially among longshoremen and in situations where Negroes were used as strike-breakers. As a result of the friction, many Negroes were displaced from their traditional service occupations.<sup>42</sup> Competition extended to skilled-craft occupations. In answer to the job inquiry of a fugitive Negro cooper, an employer stated:

Yes, I have work; I would like to employ you but my journey-men would all leave me if I did, and I cannot.<sup>43</sup>

By February 1863, many New York workingmen were opposed to emancipation because of possible competition with free Negro labor. At a mass meeting held at Tammany Hall, steps were demanded to stop:

bringing hordes of blacks from the South, as well as whites from Europe, to fill the shops . . . and by that means compel us to compete with them for the support of our families.<sup>44</sup>

The antagonisms culminated in the conscription riots of July 13, 1863. The net effect of the competition was to reduce the Negro population of New York City by 20 percent between 1860 and 1865 and to initiate a color bar on skilled and other occupations in New York.<sup>45</sup>

## V. *Apprenticeship in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

During the nineteenth century, apprenticeship in the United States followed an uneven course. Prior to the Civil War, apprenticeship was viewed as a particularly important method of skilled-craft preparation. The continued chronic shortage of skilled labor, westward expansion and the growth of the economy placed a fairly high premium on apprenticeship as a means of meeting the nation's skilled occupational requirements. Recognition of the importance of apprenticeship can be seen in legislation<sup>46</sup> and court decisions<sup>47</sup> during this period.

Running counter to the status of formal training were efforts on the part of some employers to exploit child labor under the misnomer of apprenticeship. A number of master mechanics hired youths as apprentices with no intention of instructing them in the total skills of a craft. Many of these youths, in turn, passed themselves off as skilled craftsmen, even though their training was limited to one or two of the many processes of their trade. Other malpractices were also prevalent.<sup>48</sup>

As early as 1811, the New York precursor of the International Typographical Union called attention to the downgrading of the apprenticeship process. The National Association of Hat Finishers was formed in 1854 for the sole purpose of regulating apprentices and apprenticeship. To a lesser degree, this held true for the forerunners of the iron molders, carpenters, painters and glass blowers unions. The incipient craft union movement sought to protect craft standards and protect skilled craftsmen from the deleterious competition of cheap "apprentice" labor by lengthening the terms of apprenticeship or by establishing a ratio of apprentices to journeymen.<sup>49</sup>

After the Civil War, the industrial revolution fell with a major impact on apprenticeship. The application of mechanical power to the fabricating process, and the shift of production from the small shop to the factory, sundered established relationships. In factory situations, the master could no longer house, feed, clothe and oversee the education and personal life of the apprentice. The craftsman himself became less a master workman and more an administrator. Consequently, contact between artisan and apprentice was less frequent and more formal. Machinery itself lessened requirements for all-round craftsmanship and provided fewer opportunities for the apprentice to practice general skills. Mastery of all skills became a sheer impossibility with the result that apprenticeships became specialized and compartmentalized. Additionally, apprenticeship was no

longer synonymous with child labor. The latter became identified with children set to work in factories on routine tasks for a wage payment and without any chance of learning the skills and lore of a trade.<sup>50</sup>

Apprenticeship training underwent a general devaluation, with a consequent downgrading of skills and the production of less well-rounded craftsmen. A conference of workingmen in Chicago was able to declare:

. . . the time has come when the apprenticeship system is being more extensively used to the detriment of those who have spent years in making themselves proficient in their different trades.<sup>51</sup>

Craft unions sought to preserve the traditional forms of apprenticeship by restricting entrance into their trades. Major emphasis was placed on obtaining entrance limitations through collective bargaining in local labor markets. Such regulatory efforts tended to break down in the face of horizontal labor mobility. This gave rise to national agreements covering apprenticeship for an entire craft and an impetus to the formation of viable national craft unions.<sup>52</sup>

Craft unions also turned to legislation as a method of preserving craft standards, regulating entrance into trades, and militating against the disadvantages of competition of child factory labor. The New York State Law of 1871 regulating apprentices was passed as a direct result of craft union agitation. It stated, in part, that it was unlawful: (1) to employ an apprentice without having first obtained the consent of his parent or guardian and without executing signed articles of indentures; (2) to indenture an apprentice for a period of more than five years; (3) to fail to provide an apprentice with proper board, lodging, medical attention, or to teach him the trade carefully and skillfully. The apprentice, in turn, could not leave his employment without his employer's consent or sufficient cause. Failure in this matter could lead to the arrest of the apprentice and his imprisonment, possibly, until the age of 21. The employer breaking the indenture faced a possible fine of \$500 or, where a question of failure to instruct existed, a suit to recover damages, which could not exceed \$1000.<sup>53</sup>

The act had little effect since it did not regulate the number of apprentices, the critical problem at the time. A ruling by the Attorney General in 1888 also emasculated much of the legislation. In a report in the following year, it was stated that the law was, to all intent and purposes, unenforceable.<sup>54</sup>

Between 1860 and 1910 the ratio of apprentices to the employed segment of the manufacturing and construction labor forces dropped

from 1:33 to 1:98.<sup>55</sup> The decline of apprenticeship by the turn of the century was such that most qualified observers stated “. . . broadly and definitely that the [apprenticeship] system is dead.” This was not solely an American phenomenon but extended throughout the world.<sup>56</sup>

In retrospect, contemporary analysts point to technological change as the underlying cause for the decline of apprenticeship. Lewis Mumford remarks that “. . . the castration of skills [was one of the] basic requirements of the factory system.” W. Lloyd Warner reports that: “The initial hierarchy of skilled jobs has become a horizontal layer of low skilled ones. Each of the skilled jobs has been divided into a number of simple, low skilled ones and machines are performing most of the actions necessary for each job.”<sup>57</sup>

Paralleling objective physical changes in production were ones in attitude toward apprenticeship and skilled-craft work. Workmen viewed apprentices as potential rivals, when they could not control entrance into a trade. In situations where it was still thought to be desirable to promote apprenticeship, the skilled worker, caught in the throes of quantity production, was physically unable to impart his skills to the novice, even if he were intellectually capable of passing on the “arts and mysteries” of his craft.<sup>58</sup>

Employers were faced with the problem of resolving two seemingly antagonistic interests: the goal of production versus the desire of the apprentice to learn as much as possible. The resolution of the problem was usually in favor of the former. Reinforcing the decision not to utilize apprentices was the lack of a guarantee that apprentices would remain with the employer after finishing the indenture. Employers did not look with kindness on a system where they bore the cost of skilled-craft training, the fruits of which oftentimes went to their competitors. Finally, employers resented trade union attempts to restrict apprenticeship as an usurpation of managerial prerogative.<sup>59</sup>

Parents were becoming more apt to view apprenticeship in terms of its short rather than its long range wage factor. This was a consideration on the part of youth too, who further resented being tied down to a specific occupation early in life. Also by 1900 blue collar occupations were beginning to be compared unfavorably with white collar positions.<sup>60</sup>

Coalescing, these attitudes served to reduce the significance of apprenticeship in America. In its place, the turn of the century witnessed the introduction of vocational schools, in-plant and on-the-job training programs, correspondence and night schools, various manual training courses and other methods of skill acquisition. These sys-

tems were thought to be adequate in meeting the nation's skilled manpower requirements.

## VI. *Negroes and Skilled Crafts After the Civil War*

The pattern of Negro skilled-craft occupational exclusion was not allayed after the Civil War. In 1870 an analysis of 3,500 Negro voters in New York City showed that less than 10 percent of them held skilled jobs. In the same year, a Negro engraver reported that he was working as a waiter because ". . . no employer would accept me, on the grounds that white engravers would not work with me."<sup>61</sup>

Underlying job discrimination was employee prejudice, articulated, organized and enforced by trade unions. The National Labor Congress emphasized its opposition to Negro workers on the basis of job scarcity, while also stressing the social subordination of Negroes. The Knights of Labor, though theoretically amenable to Negro unionists, avoided the problem by organizing 400 all-Negro locals. The American Federation of Labor barred racial discrimination but allowed the International Association of Machinists to affiliate in 1895 when it substituted discriminatory ritual for a Caucasian clause. By 1896, the Iron Shipbuilders and Boilermakers were able to enter the A.F.L. even though the union expressly forbade the admission of Negroes.<sup>62</sup> In 1903, *The Electrical World* stated that:

We do not want the Negro in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but we think they should be organized in locals of their own.<sup>63</sup>

The pattern of excluding Negro workers from skilled employment extended to the apprenticeship process. *The 26th Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry of New Jersey* stated that:

. . . for Negroes learning trades under apprenticeship rules, the chance of their ever being able to do so in any number seems very remote.<sup>64</sup>

In New York it was reported that "Extreme difficulty was encountered, too, in apprenticing Negroes to the trades. Most apprentices were taken by white youth."<sup>65</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly* commented that the barring of apprenticeship openings to Negro youths entailed "crushed ambitions" and that:

. . . many Negro youths who would have been better fitted . . . to become expert masons, bricklayers, carpenters . . . were forced to enter either domestic service or to become mediocre preachers and teachers.<sup>66</sup>

At the turn of the century, it was conscientiously reported that "There are no colored artisans in New York. The trade unions would prevent any such from receiving employment."<sup>67</sup>

After the Civil War, the slaveholding class in the South no longer had a vested interest in training and employing Negroes in skilled-craft occupations.<sup>68</sup> The Negro artisan was shorn of support and had to compete with white artisans on an unequal basis. Limitations placed on the occupations toward which Negroes could aspire usually excluded them from those occupations carrying high status, prestige and significant monetary rewards. From the apex of the occupational hierarchy, this interdict spread to and included skilled-craft employment. The pattern of exclusion was not constant. Variations were caused by historical traditions and socio-economic factors peculiar to specific localities.<sup>69</sup> However, in industries requiring new skills and producing new products, the color bar was constant.

The case of the Negro in the building trades illustrates the pattern of exclusion. As described by Weaver:

With the economic reconstruction of the South, there came a distinct decline in the proportion of colored workers in the building industry. New materials and large-scale construction modified the operations performed by carpenters. The older skills which the Negro carpenter knew were supplanted by new methods employed in large-scale construction. The black artisan, despite his early start in home construction, knew only the skills of small-scale building and could maintain a favorable competitive position only in those of his inherited skills which carried over into large-scale building, such as the skills of the trowel trades in which the techniques remained substantially unchanged. The Negro continued to work in those operations which he had learned until the white artisan—who entered many occupations in the building industry with the advent of large-scale building—used his political power (after Reconstruction) and Jim Crow unionism to capture new occupations and new expressions of old operations. This meant a continuing displacement of Negro carpenters, and monopoly of the mechanical building trades by white workers who were newcomers into the older building trades which the Negroes once dominated in the South.<sup>70</sup>

The extent of the displacement of Negro skilled craftsmen in the building industry of the South can be seen in the following data: Between 1910 and 1940 Negro carpenters decreased from 23.2 to 13.7 percent of the total in this occupational category in ten southern states. For painters, the decline was from 25.3 to 14.5 percent; brick-

layers, 54.7 to 31.5 percent; and plasterers, 66.5 to 54.5 percent.<sup>71</sup> While the latter two categories indicate substantial Negro skilled-craft employment, the data as a whole substantiate the findings of Weaver. In addition, the decrease in the size and proportion of Negro craftsmen correlates highly with decreases in the number of Negro youths apprenticing themselves for skilled occupations.<sup>72</sup>

In the South, then, the position of Negro skilled-craft workers evidenced a mixed pattern between the Civil War and World War I. While a fairly significant segment of the Negro labor force was afforded the opportunity to perform skilled-craft occupations, it is equally true that the trend was towards racial exclusiveness.<sup>73</sup> This had serious consequences in relation to skilled-craft employment and apprenticeship in the North. The in-migration of Negro craftsmen from the South to the North represented the prime avenue for accession of Negroes to skilled-craft employment in urban areas of northern industrial states. If there had been a continuous supply of southern Negro craftsmen to breach the pattern of skilled-craft discrimination in the North, the impact of northern, racial exclusiveness could have been allayed. The partial drying-up of this labor supply in the South, however, tended to support the pattern and reduce the possibilities of Negro craftsmen obtaining skilled-craft employment.

No significant changes occurred in the deployment of Negro skilled craftsmen in New York prior to World War I. In 1905, Mary White Ovington found that only 5 percent of the gainfully occupied Negroes in New York City belonged to the 102 craft unions then affiliated with the A.F.L. In a similar survey, five years later, no substantial differences were indicated.<sup>74</sup> (The objective position of Negro and white skilled craftsmen between 1900 and 1920 is shown in Tables 4-6, Appendix A)

Because of the defense buildup occasioned by World War I, and the decline of immigration due to hostilities, a labor shortage occurred throughout the country. It was partially alleviated by the mass in-migration of southern Negroes to northern, industrial complexes. Weaver pictures this period in the following manner:

At the outbreak of World War I, there was a general shortage of unskilled workers. Negroes were brought into the industrial centers of the North to meet this need. They found employment in iron and steel, meatpacking, shipbuilding, automobile and associated industries. This time, as contrasted to their earlier sporadic migration, they came in by the tens of thousands and established a permanent place for themselves in the heavy industries of the

region. They inherited many of the domestic service jobs from earlier migrant groups. Negro men became a significant element in the unskilled labor force for construction and street maintenance. By the close of the war, it had been demonstrated that when labor shortages forced their employment in new industries and new occupations, Negroes were found to be satisfactory workers. The results were perhaps most outstanding in shipbuilding, where the labor market was the tightest.

He notes further that:

The black worker had become accepted as a part of the industrial reserve in the North. He was, however, almost exclusively employed in unskilled capacities. Further, his high visibility made it easy to identify him with common labor. The earlier color antagonisms occasioned by strikebreaking and the general spread of segregation when Negroes arrived suddenly in large numbers during World War I, contributed towards the establishment of an occupational color line in the North.<sup>75</sup>

This pattern had special reference to the situation of Negro skilled-craft employment. It confirmed the partial exclusion of Negroes from skilled-craft employment, thereby reinforcing the concept that Negroes should not aspire to artisan rank. On the other hand, the introduction of Negroes to employment situations in northern, urban industry served to expose them to the realities of the modern factory system and its occupational hierarchy. Negroes were allowed, at second removed, to experience the content and procedures of skilled-craft employment and its social and economic rewards. Vicariously, Negroes learned to aspire to employment outside of menial categories and in distinct contrast to the content of skilled-craft employment in the South. As a result, a pattern of conflict between skilled-craft employment actualities and aspirations was established.

Following World War I, Negroes became a fairly significant and permanent component of the labor force of New York. Some gains were made by Negroes in skilled-craft occupations in this period. (See Tables 7 and 8, Appendix A)

## VII. *The Re-evaluation of Apprenticeship*

World War I, with its manpower dislocations, gave rise to further dilution of the content and methods of skilled-craft jobs.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, a general re-evaluation of apprenticeship was taking place. Some observers realized that Americans were simply “. . . not



giving the attention we should to the development of the knowledge, the skill and artistic element in our everyday labor.”<sup>77</sup>

More important in the reassessment was the impact on skilled labor caused by changes in immigration policy. Reduced by World War I and restricted by legislation in 1921 and 1924, immigration was no longer able to underpin the nation's skilled manpower requirements. Historically, the immigration of European artisans had done much to alleviate chronic labor shortages and made redundant a comprehensive system of apprenticeship training. With its decline, a substitute mode of supply became imperative.<sup>78</sup>

An additional factor was the continuing importance of the skilled component of the labor force. While many industries were able to expand without increasing the number of skilled workers, and others experienced an absolute decline in this occupational component, still others had to increase the number and proportion of skilled craftsmen. In tobacco manufacturing, as an example, mechanization led to a one-third increase in skilled jobs—mainly in equipment maintenance and service—while the total labor force dropped by 10 percent. Overall, skilled workers fluctuated between 11.7 and 13.8 percent of the total labor force between 1910 and 1950.<sup>79</sup> Given such an important and relatively stable component of the labor force, it necessarily follows that its system of training had to receive attention more nearly commensurate with its significance.

The fruition of the re-evaluation occurred first in Wisconsin, where comprehensive legislation on apprenticeship was enacted in 1911 and amended in 1915. The law provided, in part, for: (1) compulsory indentures; (2) related instruction; (3) regulation of hours and wages; (4) specification of processes taught; and (5) administration of its provisions by an industrial commission. Subsequent state and national legislation followed the Wisconsin model.<sup>80</sup> The building boom of the 1920's also led to a reassessment and reorganization of apprenticeship. The lack of skilled construction workers was attributed directly to the decline of apprenticeship. The construction industry devised new apprenticeship systems to offset the situation. Some of the features of these systems are currently utilized in the industry.<sup>81</sup>

### VIII. *The Impact of the Depression and of World War II*

The depression fell with special force on the northern urban Negro, particularly on the nonwhite artisan. The degree of its effect can be seen in data indicating that almost half of the skilled Negro males

in the nation were displaced from their usual type of employment between 1930 and 1936.<sup>82</sup> Massive skilled-craft unemployment of the degree suggested here undid much of the movement towards skilled-craft integration in New York City. Craft-union policy towards Negroes tended to become more rigid in the face of what seemed to be a chronic situation of job scarcity. The means for carrying out discriminatory policies were varied. The president of Local #3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers stated that:

Negro youths do not get in as apprentices; consequently they cannot later qualify for membership . . . (and that) no effort was ever made to encourage Negro youth to join as apprentices and, in fact, no thought was ever given to the matter.<sup>83</sup>

The plumbers enforced racial exclusiveness through control of the governmental licensing apparatus, thereby frustrating the job-seeking efforts of Negro plumbers who might have completed the apprenticeship process in other states.<sup>84</sup>

The carpenters restricted Negro craftsmen by establishing, a mixed local in Harlem from which the white members gradually withdrew, leaving an all-Negro membership to which all Negro carpenters, regardless of residence, were assigned. In turn, the local's jurisdiction was limited almost entirely to the geographical confines of Harlem, where little or no construction was being undertaken. With little prospect of work, the number of Negroes in the local dwindled from 440 in 1926 to 65 in 1935, many of them leaving the trade permanently.<sup>85</sup> A number of other discriminatory devices were used by other unions to deny membership to Negroes.<sup>86</sup> Census data for 1940 indicate the weight of the depression and restrictive devices on Negro artisans. (See Table 8, Appendix A.)

World War II marked the first major break in the historical pattern of Negro skilled-craft occupational deprivation. The process was slow in its initial stages:

In September 1941, the Bureau of Employment Security conducted a survey of Negro workers and the national defense program. It reported that past color bars against Negroes in most skilled and industrial work had relaxed but little, if at all. The employment of Negro artisans in the vast defense construction was limited almost exclusively to carpentry, cement finishing, and to some extent bricklaying. In traditional types of jobs and in traditional industries, there had been a slight expansion of Negro employment. The survey noted much evidence "to show that even in industries, in which Negroes have by custom been accepted, many establishments which have employed Negroes in the past

were refusing to employ Negroes for skilled and semi-skilled work." Such practices were helping to accentuate the acute shortage which had developed in some areas in the foundry industry, a branch of war production which was destined to have serious problems of labor supply throughout the war.<sup>87</sup>

As the war progressed and the shortage of labor became pronounced, many Negroes were able to learn, develop and practice skilled-craft traits and achieve the vertical and horizontal occupational mobility concomitant with this higher status. The degree of Negro accession to skilled-craft occupations can be seen in the proportion of Negroes placed by the New York State Employment Service from 1944 to May 1947. In the initial year, nonwhites constituted 8.3 percent of all skilled placements; by 1945 this had risen to 12.0; followed by 17.0 and 20.0 percent in 1946 and 1947.<sup>88</sup>

The skilled-craft breach was not effected through the utilization of the pool of southern Negro skilled craftsmen nor through the formal apprenticeship training process. The former had been more or less debilitated by the erection of the skilled-craft color bar in the South. The latter was never a significant mode of entrance because of the moratorium on apprenticeship caused by the depression and the non-feasibility of extended apprenticeship during World War II. Entrance was achieved through a variety of methods: defense and war training; job training and upgrading; training in the armed forces;<sup>89</sup> and negatively, by job dilution. While there can be no estimate as to the amount of on-the-job training and upgrading received, Weaver suggests that this was the most significant factor inasmuch as the growth in the volume of Negroes in skilled occupations cannot be attributed entirely to formal training courses.<sup>90</sup>

Between 1940 and 1950, New York Negroes registered a percentage gain of 2.8 in skilled-craft occupations.<sup>91</sup> While this movement marks a significant advance, it must be noted that nonwhites were not even remotely close to enjoying the skilled occupational status registered by whites in 1950.<sup>92</sup> Additionally, Negroes tended to move into skilled-craft occupations where long range economic prospects were poor or where the work was arduous and dirty.<sup>93</sup> Finally, racial discrimination had not been allayed, even with the passage of comprehensive fair employment legislation.<sup>94</sup>

The active entry of the federal government into the apprenticeship field on a national basis dates back to 1934. That year the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, which was originally interdepartmental, was appointed by the Secretary of Labor to serve as the national

policy-recommending body on apprentice training in the United States. This committee was originally created to assume the responsibilities with respect to apprentices and their training under industrial codes formulated by the National Industrial Recovery Administration. In 1937, the National Apprenticeship Law was passed by Congress. This law, popularly known as the Fitzgerald Act, was enacted "to promote the furtherance of labor standards of apprenticeship . . . to extend the application of such standards by encouraging the inclusion thereof in contracts of apprenticeship, to bring together employers and labor for the formulation of programs of apprenticeship and to cooperate with State agencies in the formulation of standards of apprenticeship." It is an enabling act in every sense of the word, without mandatory injunctions.

As a result of this Law, the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship was reorganized and enlarged to include an equal number of representatives from employers and labor, a representative of the U.S. Department of Labor and another from the U.S. Office of Education. Also, the Apprentice Training Service (now known as the Bureau of Apprenticeship) was established as the national administrative agency in the Labor Department to carry out the objectives of the law in conformity with the policies determined by the Federal Committee.<sup>95</sup>

In reality, however, apprenticeship had suffered a major setback during the 1930's because of the depression. Nor was apprenticeship a primary mode of skilled-craft training during World War II. The rebirth of apprenticeship came only with demobilization of the armed forces in 1946. In the chapters to follow, the post-war developments in the field of apprenticeships are discussed in detail insofar as they bear on the state of New York, the special focus of this present study.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Paul Benjamin, *Industrial Apprenticeship*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1947, p. 4. The reference is as follows:

If an artisan take a son for adoption and teach him his handicraft one may not bring a claim against him. If he do not teach his handicraft, that adopted son may return to his father's house.

<sup>2</sup> Paul H. Douglas, *American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XCV, Number 2, Columbia University Press, New York, 1921, pp. 13-16.

<sup>3</sup> This was particularly true of the Egyptian system, where fines were imposed and apprentices were taxed.

<sup>4</sup> National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Skilled Manpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Grace Abbott, *The Child and The State*, Vol. I, *Legal Status in the Family*,

*Apprenticeship and Child Labor, Select Documents, with Introductory Notes*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938, pp. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> Jocelyn Dunlop and Richard Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labor: A History*, T. Fisher, Unwin, London, 1912, pp. 29-34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38. The leathersellers adopted the following rule in 1398.

No one shall set any man child or woman to work in the same trade, if such person be not first bound apprentice, and enrolled in the trade, therein wives and children only excepted.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34. Apprenticeship was never the sole means of gaining master's status in England since, until the Elizabethan period, journeymen could reach this rank whether or not they had gone through an apprenticeship.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Apprenticeship permeated the entire feudal economic and social structure and is vestigially present in some professional occupations today, such as teaching.

<sup>10</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 88. (Elizabeth C.4., 1562).

<sup>11</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19. The indigent youth portion of the act was related to the Elizabethan Poor Laws, having as its purpose "The relief of the burden of the poor on society."

<sup>13</sup> Full enforcement of the act was prevented by the lack of administrative machinery; upward mobile peasants; and the dislocations of the Civil War.

<sup>14</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 44. as follows:

That complex of developments beginning in the Seventeenth Century called the Industrial Revolution was made possible by, and resulted in, the division of labor and specialization of function. The growth of scientific knowledge and of technology, together with the emergence of the factory system of production, radically altered the economic life first of the western world and then of other parts of the globe. This transformation was accompanied by the appearance of many new skills and trades. Occupations proliferated and altered. In these developments, the manufacturing industries, with their greater potentiality for division of labor, played a particularly forceful role. The grouping of kinds of labor into such categories as skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled was primarily a result of factory production.

The effect of division of labor is readily seen in the growing variety of jobs, but this is only one aspect of specialization. The other, not so easily discerned, is interdependence. As the number of separate and specific duties or tasks performed by workers multiplied, new integrating functions of an entrepreneurial and managerial nature also came into existence.

<sup>15</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.* p. 189.

<sup>16</sup> United States Department of Labor, *Apprenticeship Past and Present: A Story of Apprentice Training in the Skilled Trades Since Colonial Days*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1952 edition, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44. The acts were nullified by the Privy Council in 1695.

<sup>18</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>19</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29, 36. Indentured servants had no control over the transfer of their indentures. They tended to work in agricultural pursuits and did not receive vocational or intellectual training. Also they were usually adults and of foreign birth. All of this was in opposition to the basic characteristics of apprenticeship.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 206-207.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50. Apprentices were often listed as assets by bankrupts and illegally sold as such. They performed chores other than those associated with their craft and were frequently subject to the whims and predilections of their masters.

<sup>23</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957, pp. 3-21. For a contrary view, see Leonard Stavisky, "The Origins of Negro Craftsmanship in Colonial America," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, October 1947, Washington D.C., *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America 1607-1783*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p. 11.

- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.
- <sup>26</sup> Stavisky, *op. cit.*, p. 423.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.
- <sup>28</sup> Frazier, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 191. While the ratio of free to bond Negroes varied over the period, the 90 percent level was generally maintained. Thus, there were 108,435 free Negroes in 1800 and 488,070 in 1860 as opposed to a total Negro population, respectively, of 1,802,037 and 4,441,830.
- <sup>29</sup> Kenneth M. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution, Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1956, p. 31.
- <sup>30</sup> Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro Wage Earner*, The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1930; see p. 16 for a discussion of various legislation either restricting, limiting or prohibiting Negroes from practicing trades. Cf., Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States*, Vanguard Press, New York, *passim*. Wesley contends that most of the leaders of Negro insurrections were artisans.
- <sup>31</sup> Quoted in Gunnar Myrdal, Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944, p. 280.
- <sup>32</sup> Quoted in Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- <sup>33</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of A New Middle Class in the United States*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957, p. 13.
- <sup>34</sup> Quoted in Stamp, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- <sup>35</sup> Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker, The Negro and The Labor Movement*; Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, p. 5.
- <sup>36</sup> Quoted in Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- <sup>37</sup> Quoted in Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58.
- <sup>38</sup> Stamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 63. The quality of work of Negro artisans was, in general, favorably commented on and they were considered "... the right-hand man of every man."
- <sup>39</sup> Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1255 and 73.
- <sup>40</sup> Charles Lionel Franklin, *The Negro Labor Unionist of New York*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1936, p. 18.
- <sup>41</sup> George Edmund Haynes, *The Negro At Work In New York City: A Study In Economic Progress; Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1912, p. 67; Stavisky, *op. cit.*, p. 423; Greene and Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6 and 14.
- <sup>42</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- <sup>43</sup> Albon P. Man, Jr. "Labor Competition and the New York Draft Riots of 1863," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, October 1951; p. 391.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.
- <sup>45</sup> Prior to emancipation, apprenticeship was oftentimes substituted for slavery, being used as a "transition" period between it and freedom. According to Douglas, this occurred in Pennsylvania in 1780 and in New Jersey and Illinois in the nineteenth century. In his first term as a Congressman, Lincoln introduced measures to free slaves in the District of Columbia and provided for an interim period of "apprenticeship." Apprenticeship codes were promulgated in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana after the Civil War to keep Negroes in a semi-servile position. Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. Freed slaves in the British West Indies were required to serve a 6 year apprenticeship with their former masters beginning in 1834. The act was cancelled four years later. Charles H. Wesley, "The Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship in the British Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, April 1938.
- <sup>46</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 214. The legislation was passed in 1819 and allowed Justices of the Peace to discharge apprentices from indentures due to cruelty, lack of sustenance or other unreasonable conditions. Relief was also provided for masters when apprentices broke indentures.
- <sup>47</sup> An apprentice in New York sued a master saddlemaker for keeping him at work on inferior saddles, thus preventing him from learning the total skills of his craft. The plaintiff was awarded \$400 in damages by the Court of Common Pleas of New York (*ibid.*, p. 218).

- <sup>48</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-63. Some employers hired apprentices instead of journeymen, discharging the former as they became the latter because of the wage differential.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63. The Troy coachmen were among the first unions to utilize the ratio principle.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55-61.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71. One percent of all strikes between 1885 and 1893 were caused by disputes over apprenticeship. Seven percent of all lockouts, 1881-1886, were caused by management reaction to union attempts to regulate apprenticeship.
- <sup>53</sup> Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 220: New Laws, 1871, Chapter 931.
- <sup>54</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 222. Taken from the *Third Annual Report of the Factory Inspector*.
- <sup>55</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- <sup>56</sup> Quoted in Stewart Scrimshaw, *Apprenticeship: Principles, Relationships, Procedures*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932, p. 2; cf., New South Wales Board of Trade, *Apprenticeship*, Government Printing Office, Sydney, Australia, 1922, p. 11.
- <sup>57</sup> Both men are quoted in National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- <sup>58</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- <sup>61</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28.
- <sup>62</sup> Herman D. Bloch, "Craft Unions and the Negro in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, January 1955, pp. 13-15.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16
- <sup>64</sup> A quote from a New Jersey businessman in 1903 in *ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- <sup>67</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Greene reports that discrimination against Negro craftsmen took other forms in the North. Negro plasterers in Philadelphia were not allowed to join the union. As non-union employees their rate of pay averaged \$2.50 a day as compared to \$4.50 for white union members. Additionally, it was reported in New York that many Negro skilled workers were inefficient because of the "hit-or-miss" craft education they received in the South; and that "... the Negro is losing as a skilled laborer because it requires time, energy, money and encouragement to acquire skill."
- <sup>68</sup> There was always opposition to Negro artisans in the South, as indicated by the following quote from a letter in the Richmond, Virginia *Whig* of 1811:
- Those whose hearts are now sickened when they look into the carpenters' shops, the blacksmiths' shops and the shops of all the different trades and see them crowded with Negro apprentices and Negro workers are ready to quit in disgust. (Green, *op. cit.*, p. 15)
- <sup>69</sup> The exclusion policy allowed southerners to rationalize the lack of Negro skilled workers in terms of the lack of Negro applicants: "Indeed one of the most discouraging features in the character of the Negroes who have grown up since the war is their extreme aversion to the mechanical trades." Quoted in Carl Kelsey, "The Evolution of Negro Labor," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 367, 1903.
- <sup>70</sup> Robert C. Weaver, *Negro Labor: A National Problem*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>71</sup> "Apprenticeship Training," Remarks of Samuel B. Danfey, Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, before The Joint National Convention of the National Negro Business League, The National Association of Real Estate Brokers and the National Business Association, Detroit, August 1949.
- <sup>72</sup> Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 324. See Table 3. Appendix M for the relationship in the construction industry between 1910 and 1920. In summary, the authors state that:

In these fields, as shown by a comparison of the Census Reports of 1910 and 1920, the number of apprentices has actually declined from almost

ten percent in the case of the blacksmith to more than 25 percent in the case of apprentices to brick and stone masons. This is a very alarming condition especially since the white artisans are putting forth strenuous efforts to dislodge the Negroes from these fields. The large advance in machinist apprentices is no doubt the result of an error in cataloguing such persons, most of them being machine tenders. The increase in apprentices to the electrical and plumbing trades is encouraging in view of the solid opposition met by the Negroes in these vocations.

<sup>73</sup> The exclusion pattern in skilled-craft occupations on southern railroads has been carried out through attrition caused by turnover and retirement. No Negroes have been hired in twenty years to replace those retiring from jobs as switchmen, brakemen and engineers in Birmingham: (Langston T. Hawley, *op. cit.*, p. 242). To offset the lack of Negro craftsmen in the South, Booker T. Washington and others established manual arts schools as a substitute for apprenticeship training. This has probably been a serious mistake since these schools cannot adequately train really skilled craftsmen. (See Albert Lawrence DeMond, *Certain Aspects of The Economic Development of the American Negro, 1865-1900*, The Catholic University of America, *Studies in Economics*, Vol. 18, Washington, 1945 p. 33. Also, John Hope II, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 31-32; and Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>74</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77.

<sup>75</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 76:

Increases in the scale of operations both permitted and required greater specialization in many lines of work. The tasks of skilled workers were broken down and assigned to a group of workers, each of whom had only limited training. Large groups of semiskilled workers were built up around cadres of skilled workers. Many skilled workers were shifted from production to supervisory or pre-production jobs. As tool and die makers, setup men and layout men they concentrated on the essential skilled worker functions of making, adjusting, and repairing machines and equipment and of preparing machines and materials for particular operations. Actual production was then carried out by semiskilled workers.

Many skilled jobs which consist of highly complex, interrelated tasks could not be easily subdivided. This was true of many kinds of tool and die making, pattern and model making, drafting and designing, and repair operations. Even in these occupations, however, some less demanding tasks were assigned to less skilled workers, who worked under close supervision. For instance, a toolmaking team might consist of a skilled toolmaker with three or four skilled machinists and semiskilled machine operators under his direct supervision. The toolmaker was responsible for organizing and supervising the work and for the final precision operation.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>78</sup> Frederick Horridge, *The Problem of Apprenticeship in the Six Basic Building Trades*, Trades and Industrial Series, No. 5, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1926, pp. 33 and 43-72. Horridge estimates that one of every four carpenters was foreign born prior to World War I.

<sup>79</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 74.

<sup>80</sup> Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>81</sup> William Haber, *Industrial Relations in the Building Industry*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930, p. 127. In part, Haber attributes the decline of apprenticeship to the decline in the number of errands and errand boys, who were "pre-apprentices" and were displaced by the advent of the telephone. The broad movement for additional training for skilled workers was also given impetus by the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which initiated federal aid for vocational education in public high schools. National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 42, also Anglo-American Council on Productivity Report, *Training of Operatives*, New York, October 1951, p. 20.

<sup>82</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>83</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>84</sup> Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>85</sup> Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219. Franklin notes that the international failed to appoint a business agent for the local. As a result,



- its jurisdictional right in Harlem was frequently challenged by other locals.
- <sup>86</sup> Among them were (1) denial of hiring hall and referral services; (2) the imposition of high initiation fees; (3) refusal to organize predominantly Negro non-union shops; and (4) the suspension of Negroes for minor infractions of provisions of union bylaws and constitutions.
- <sup>87</sup> Quoted in Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- <sup>88</sup> New York State Department of Labor, "Trends in Placements of Nonwhite Workers in the Pre-War and Post War Periods," Albany 1948, *passim*.
- <sup>89</sup> The army was training 175 Negro carpenters a month during one period of the war. National Urban League, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- <sup>90</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Weaver remarks that:  
 . . . pre-employment vocational education and NYA defense training have been the two most important modes of preparation. It was these two types of training which prepared the bulk of workers who entered new occupations. A group which had little occupational status was largely dependent upon training as a requisite for being considered for employment in production work. Had NYA not offered its training and had Negroes not insisted upon entering pre-employment courses early in the defense effort, their limited acceptance in new types of work would have been delayed on the traditional basis that there were no qualified colored applicants.
- <sup>91</sup> See Table 9, Appendix B. Only 7.8 percent of employed Negro males were in skilled occupations in 1940, as against 10.6 percent in 1950. For whites, the relationship is 17.1: 19.7 percent.
- <sup>92</sup> Negroes needed a percentage point increase of 9.1 to reach the standing of white New York craftsmen in 1950.
- <sup>93</sup> This is based on analysis of the rate of change for selected skilled-craft occupations in New York between 1900 and 1950.
- <sup>94</sup> See Part Two, this report. Also Louis Ruchames, *Race, Jobs and Politics: The Story of FEPC*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, p. 12.
- <sup>95</sup> United States Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

## CHAPTER III

### APPRENTICESHIP IN NEW YORK STATE: STRUCTURE, PROCESS AND SCOPE

#### I. *The Formal Structure of the New York State Apprenticeship Program*

A modern system of apprenticeship began in New York State in 1909 when the Department of Education initiated courses for apprentices in evening schools. In 1935, the legislature amended the Education Act and provided for the Board of Regents to establish an Advisory Council on Apprenticeship Training. Legislation in 1941 transferred the Advisory Council to the Executive Department of the state government. The Council devoted its energies to the formulation, development and acceptance of apprenticeship training programs for various skilled-craft occupations.<sup>1</sup>

In 1945, the legislature adopted the New York State Apprenticeship Council Law, which is part of the New York State Labor Law.<sup>2</sup> The act provided for the establishment of the New York State Apprenticeship Council composed of seven members representing the public, employees and employers. The Council is bipartisan in nature with members appointed by the Governor for defined, overlapping terms. The Industrial Commissioner, the Commissioner of Commerce, and the Commissioner of Education serve as *ex officio* members of the Council, carrying out various functions designed to effectuate the purposes of the law.<sup>3</sup>

The major purposes of the Council are: ". . . to promote an orderly development of the supply of skilled journeymen or craftsmen by establishing training programs of work experience and related classroom instruction . . . safeguard labor standards in order to prevent the exploitation of learners during their apprenticeship, and . . . prevent dilution of trade skills."<sup>4</sup> Specifically the Council endeavors:

1. To establish suggested standards of apprenticeship and spread

the application of these standards by encouraging their inclusion in contracts of apprenticeship.

2. To give approval to, and assist in, the setting up of state and local joint apprenticeship committees.
3. To serve in an advisory or consulting capacity to these joint committees.
4. To review and approve all apprenticeship standards and agreements which are submitted to the Council and which meet the minimum standards recommended by the Council.
5. To arrange for the proper type of related classroom instruction for apprentices employed under standards registered with the New York State Apprenticeship Council.
6. To keep a register of apprentices through the means of copies of individual apprentice agreements.
7. To provide for the issuance of a suitable certificate of completion of apprenticeship to those apprentices who have completed their training under standards registered with the New York State Apprenticeship Council.
8. To assist in the adjustment of differences between apprentices and employers when asked to do so by either party.
9. To promote employment opportunities for young people under conditions providing adequate training and reasonable earnings.
10. To make recommendations to employers and employees for the improvement of apprentice training programs.
11. To plan research and to coordinate the efforts of all who are interested in dealing with and improving apprenticeship.
12. To compile data from which to determine trends in employment opportunities for apprentices.
13. To relate the supply of skilled workers to employment demands.
14. To act as a clearing house for information on apprenticeship.
15. To secure the active support and cooperation of industry, labor, and the general public in the promotion of apprenticeship standards.
16. To formulate policies and adopt such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the intent and purpose of the New York State Apprenticeship Law.
17. To submit an annual report to the New York State Legislature on the activities and findings of the Council.<sup>5</sup>

Primary staff responsibility for carrying out the policies and programs of the Council lies in the office of the Deputy Industrial Commissioner of the New York State Department of Labor, through the

office of the Director of Apprenticeship Training. The latter is also the executive officer of the Apprenticeship Council. In pursuit of the aforementioned objectives, the Director of Apprenticeship Training is empowered to:

1. . . . encourage and promote apprenticeship agreements which conform to the standards established by the Council;
2. bring about the settlement of differences which arise out of apprenticeship agreements when such questions cannot be settled locally or in accordance with established trade procedures;
3. supervise the execution of agreements and maintenance of standards;
4. keep a record of apprenticeship agreements and, at the completion of these agreements, issue certificates of completion of apprenticeship;
5. register apprenticeship agreements which conform to the standards of the Council;
6. act as secretary of the Council and of state joint apprenticeship committees.

Additionally, he is charged with the task of evaluating the effectiveness of the various apprenticeship programs.<sup>6</sup>

In his administrative capacity, the Director is assisted by staff members of the Apprenticeship Council, which is an integral unit of the New York State Department of Labor.<sup>7</sup> Staff activities revolve around the three major functions of the Council:

1. Advisory functions performed during the promotion and organization period of an apprenticeship program.
2. Advisory functions performed after an apprenticeship program is in operation.
3. Advisory functions of a general nature which are designed to promote apprenticeship programs and to assist indenturing units.

Under the first of these activities, staff members:

1. Point out the need and advantages of planned apprenticeship.
2. Give information on the types of local apprenticeship organization and suggest the type most desirable for any specific local situation.
3. Assist with and advise on the formulation of joint apprenticeship agreements within industry and on individual apprenticeship agreements.
4. Lend assistance in the registration and classification of the learners already in the industry.

5. Furnish information regarding minimum and also desirable labor standards for:
  - (a) Initial selection of apprentices
  - (b) Hours, wages, working conditions
  - (c) Desirable number of apprentices
  - (d) Provision for adequate job experience
  - (e) Provision for adequate supplementary training
6. Assist with and advise on the enactment of desirable apprenticeship legislation.
7. Advise industry of other specialized governmental services and encourage their use.

For on-going programs, representatives of the Council:

1. Give technical advice on the application and interpretation of state and federal legislation, joint agreements and individual apprenticeship agreements in local situations.
2. Advise on the application and adjustment of standards of apprenticeship to local conditions.
3. Assist in the adoption of legislation, apprenticeship organization and local agreements to meet changing conditions.
4. Cooperate with the appropriate local apprenticeship authority on job situations called to their attention by vocational educators concerning the obtaining of job conditions which are desirable from a training viewpoint.

In their last capacity, they:

1. Assist in the registry of individual apprenticeship agreements with the central office of the apprenticeship unit or other authorized registration agency.
2. Stimulate local apprenticeship authorities to submit for review by the apprenticeship unit or authorized review agency, local apprenticeship programs, local joint apprenticeship agreements and individual apprenticeship agreements.
3. Inform employers of exemptions relative to federal wage requirements and how to obtain such exemptions; recommend the issuance of such certificates of exemptions.<sup>8</sup>

Augmenting the activities of the Apprenticeship Council are the programs in New York State handled by the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship of the United States Department of Labor. Acting under provisions of the Fitzgerald Act, federal personnel conduct programs designed to “. . . promote, develop and service . . . apprentice training in keeping with the minimum standards . . . [of] the national program.” Duplication of effort is avoided through the co-

ordinated assignment of federal and state personnel to potential and active apprenticeship programs in the state. Since the state law reflects national standards, there is a minimum of conflict between the federal and state apprenticeship programs. In practice, federal employees follow state procedures to a large degree.<sup>9</sup>

Apprenticeship consists of formal on-the-job training and off-the-job instruction in the content, techniques and theory of any given skilled-craft occupation. The latter—related training—is vested in the offices of the Supervisor of Related Instruction of the Bureau of Occupational Extension and Industrial Service of the State Department of Education. Under statutory requirements, related training is coordinated with practical work experience during definite periods of the term of apprenticeship. A minimum of 144 hours per calendar year of such instruction is required for each year of the apprenticeship.<sup>10</sup>

In line with his statutory responsibility, the Supervisor of Related Instruction is charged with:

1. developing minimum standards pertaining to related instruction for apprentices, to be approved by the State Apprenticeship Council, as part of the minimum standards for apprenticeship;
2. arranging with local school boards for the conduct of related training;
3. supervising the program;
4. preparing reports on attendance, enrollment . . . ;
5. developing instructional materials; and
6. coordinating the program of the Labor and Education Departments.

Federal, state and local vocational educators perform two major functions in connection with apprenticeship training: “. . . as consultants in the coordination of the work experience and the job situation with the learning process, and as administrators and supervisors in connection with the related technical instruction classes.” In the first capacity, vocational educators seek to insure the realization of comprehensive training by insistence on broad educational concepts. To this end, they:

1. Assist in formulating a schedule of work processes, length of the learning period for each process and the most desirable sequence for efficient training.
2. Advise on the standards of selection of apprentices when the learning abilities are being considered.

3. Assist in the evaluation of and advise on job conditions which facilitate training.
4. Assist in the evaluation of apprentice progress in terms of achievement, knowledge and manipulative skill.
5. Assist in improving the quality and types of teaching techniques of supervisors and foremen responsible for training apprentices.

In their latter capacity, vocational educators :

1. Appoint and use educational advisory committees.
2. Employ apprenticeship instructors and coordinators.
3. Provide adequate and satisfactory school facilities.
4. Develop trade analyses and provide courses of instruction.
5. Register apprentices in schools and keep individual attendance records.
6. Evaluate and keep advisory committees informed of the achievement of apprentices with respect to the school training program.
7. Coordinate school training and job experience.<sup>11</sup>

Related instruction in practice is carried out by local boards of education in communities where the apprenticeship is being undertaken. Theoretical training may be given during regular working hours or in the evening and may be conducted at schools or in the plant. Instruction covers a wide range of subject matter, and is closely related to the needs of the particular industry and craft for which apprenticeship training is undertaken.<sup>12</sup>

Apprentices may also receive services from the Veterans Administration in connection with their training. Under Public Laws #346 and #679 (World War II) and the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 (Korean War), the federal government delegated to the Governor responsibility for approving apprentice training programs in New York State. Authority, in turn, was devolved to the State Apprenticeship Council “. . . to be exercised in conformance with the minimum requirements and standards of the Council. Programs approved by the Council are certified to the Veterans Administration. All eligible veterans employed in training programs so certified, are entitled to benefits [under the above laws, when in force and applicable].” Supplementing this aid, the Veterans Administration offers counselling and guidance service to veterans interested in apprenticeship. This service does not extend to the actual placement of veterans as apprentices but stands as an aid possibly leading to such placement. Additional assistance is offered to veterans with service-connected disabilities.<sup>13</sup>

## II. *Setting Up An Apprenticeship Program*

Apprenticeship is essentially a voluntary employment relationship effected between an apprentice and an employer or his agent. Historically and functionally “. . . the development of apprenticeship training is the prerogative of management and labor rather than of government . . . government's function is solely that of a service agency rendering whatever assistance it could in such development.”<sup>14</sup> Beyond setting standards and servicing apprenticeship programs, government seeks to interfere as little as possible in apprenticeship.<sup>15</sup> Apprenticeship is a primary responsibility of labor and management, with governmental agencies working to “. . . supplement the effort of existing patterns and to promote the long range objective of producing sufficiently well-trained journeymen to meet the needs of employers, and at the same time, not to hamper labor's bargaining position by training in numbers not in relation to the labor market requirements.”<sup>16</sup>

In keeping with this philosophy, the indenturing and training of apprentices is actually carried out by firms or joint apprenticeship committees. The latter are formed in situations where there are no *bona fide* employer or employee organizations or, in practice, where this type of organization appears to be the most practicable manner of administering an apprenticeship program. The Apprenticeship Council may act as a joint apprenticeship committee for any trade or group of trades.<sup>17</sup>

Viewed as a process, apprenticeship follows certain prescribed steps and involves the utilization of the structure previously outlined. As a rule, an employer or union representative interested in initiating an apprenticeship program may do so by obtaining the services of a field representative of the Apprenticeship Council. Upon application, Apprenticeship Council staff conduct an analysis of training facilities at the plant or job location, examine the presence of equipment needed to give proper training in all of the required skills of the occupation, and determine the availability of craftsmen to supervise and instruct potential apprentices. As a corollary procedure, an investigation is undertaken to determine the availability of facilities for related instruction in the community where the apprenticeship program is to be undertaken. On the basis of prior experience and the above analysis, personnel of the State Apprenticeship Council make a determination as to the feasibility and desirability of initiating a program for the particular potential indenturing unit. If the decision is affirmative, staff representatives and management and labor per-



sonnel proceed to develop a program suitable to the establishment or trade. This may also be done in connection with a joint apprenticeship committee (JAC), if this organizational form is deemed appropriate in the particular circumstances. Where this is the case, the JAC is also assisted in its organizational and functional aspects and responsibilities by Council personnel.

The program developed must reflect the minimum standards of the Council. These standards parallel national ones, mirror previous experience and represent an attempt to insure the maintenance of prevailing labor conditions. As stated by law, the standards must include:

1. A statement of the trade and craft to be taught and the required hours for completion of apprenticeship, which shall not be less than four thousand hours of reasonably continuous employment.
2. A statement of the processes in the trade or craft divisions in which the apprentice is to be taught, and the approximate amount of time to be spent in each process.
3. A statement of the number of hours to be spent by the apprentice in work and the number of hours to be spent in related and supplementary instruction, which instruction shall be not less than one hundred forty-four hours per year.
4. A statement that apprentices shall be not less than sixteen years of age.
5. A statement of the progressively increasing scale of wages to be paid the apprentice.
6. Provision for a period of probation during which the Apprenticeship Council, or the person in charge of apprenticeship when authorized by the Council, shall be directed to terminate an apprenticeship agreement at the request in writing of any party thereto. After the probationary period, the apprenticeship Council or the person in charge of apprenticeship when authorized by the Council, shall be empowered to terminate the registration of an apprentice upon agreement of the parties.
7. Provision that the services of the person in charge and the Apprenticeship Council may be utilized for consultation regarding the settlement of differences arising out of the apprenticeship agreement when such differences cannot be adjusted.
8. Provision that if an employer is unable to fulfill his obligation under that apprenticeship agreement, he may transfer such obligation to another employer.
9. Such additional standards as may be prescribed in accordance with the provisions of this article.<sup>18</sup>

In line with (9), the Council has adopted standards which require that the apprentice must earn at least 50 percent of the prevailing journeymen's wage in the craft. Additionally, credit towards the term of apprenticeship may be granted if, "... after careful examination of [the apprentice's] work experience, education and other qualifications . . . the apprentice is found to meet requirements for advanced standing." Another standard provides that an employer must designate a supervisor of apprentices. It is incumbent upon this individual to see that apprentices move through the training process in accordance with established standards and procedures. Since the content and procedures of skilled-craft occupations are subject to change, the Council has also provided for the amplification of prevailing standards. Usually, each program has a provision setting forth the ratio of apprentices-to-journeymen. The Apprenticeship Council ratifies the ratio through its inclusion in the standards developed for the indenturing unit.<sup>19</sup>

Following the above standards, indenturing units carry out specific functions and duties. These vary by industry, trade, location and type of organization. They usually include the following:

1. To determine, in accordance with the established ratio of apprentices to journeymen, the need for apprentices in the locality, taking into consideration the available facilities for acquiring the necessary experience on the job.
2. To establish minimum standards of education and experience required of apprentices and to pass on the qualifications of apprentice applicants.
3. To approve apprenticeship agreements between the employer and the apprentices, and to submit these apprenticeship agreements for registration with the New York State Apprenticeship Council.
4. To determine the quality and quantity of experience on the job which the apprentices must have and to be responsible for their obtaining it.
5. To hear and adjust all complaints of violation of apprenticeship agreement.
6. To arrange tests for determining the apprentice's progress in manipulative skills and technical knowledge.
7. To maintain a record of each apprentice, showing his related schooling, experience and progress in the learning of the trade.
8. To make annual reports covering the work of the committee to the employer, the union and the New York State Apprenticeship Council.

9. To recommend apprentices for advancement and for certificates of completion of apprenticeship.<sup>20</sup>

Indenturing units and personnel of the Apprenticeship Council prescribe the term of apprenticeship, wages, hours and conditions of work, and the amount of related instruction required for the particular craft. Indenturing units select apprentices, recommend training for journeymen and supervisors to equip them to train apprentices and, in some cases, transfer apprentices among employers so that training is provided in all phases of the particular skilled-craft occupation.<sup>21</sup>

Apprenticeship programs are submitted to the Council for approval and registration. In modified form, the program and standards are incorporated into an agreement between the employer, or his agent, and the apprentice. When executed, the actual indenturing and training of the apprentice may begin.<sup>22</sup>

For the apprentice, the procedure is much less complex. After employment and execution of the agreement, he usually deals only with the supervisor or journeyman who instructs him in the skills of the aspired-to-craft. For at least 144 hours a year, the apprentice receives instruction in the theoretical aspects of his trade from a vocational teacher. At times, the apprentice may deal with staff personnel of the Council who keep a record of the progress and achievements of the apprentice. He may also see such personnel in connection with grievances or conflicts which arise during the course of the apprenticeship.

Upon successful completion of the term of apprenticeship, the apprentice is certified by the Apprenticeship Council. He then becomes a journeyman in his chosen vocation.<sup>23</sup>

### III. *Some Apprenticeship Statistics*

In September 1958, 14,064 apprentices were in training in programs registered with the New York State Apprenticeship Council. The total current number of apprentices in New York State is not known because of a lack of data on apprentices in nonregistered apprenticeship programs. The above figure also fails to enumerate civil service apprentices receiving training at various installations of the federal government in New York State.<sup>24</sup>

The present figure represents a marked decrease from the high point in 1948. At that time, 29,366 apprentices in registered programs were enumerated in the state. This reflected the rapid postwar growth in apprenticeship and was due, in part, to veterans receiving

government benefits.<sup>25</sup> Since 1952, registered apprenticeship programs in New York State have annually provided employment for about 15,000 apprentices.<sup>26</sup> (The latest available data on registered apprentices, and apprenticeship programs, by administrative areas, are set forth in Tables 9 and 10, Appendix A).

In recent years, most apprentices have been veterans. Very few females are indentured by industry. Traditionally, apprenticeship has been a training program for the young but during the last fifteen years the average age of apprentices has been relatively high, a reflection of the large number of veterans in apprenticeship programs.

The vast majority of apprentices are indentured by a relatively small number of firms and joint apprenticeship committees. An analysis of 2,269 indenturing units in November 1957, showed that 7.4 percent of them indentured 77.6 percent of the registered apprentices in the state. From another direction, the data indicate that the vast majority of indenturing units employ very few apprentices, generally only one or two.<sup>28</sup>

New York State ranks first in the nation in the employment of registered apprentices.<sup>29</sup> Within the state, most apprentices are in the New York region, followed by the Buffalo, Albany, Binghamton, Utica, Rochester and Syracuse regions. The high proportion of apprentices in New York City, 73.2 percent, is related to the high proportion of apprentices in construction and printing and the concentration of these two industries in New York City.<sup>30</sup>

Nationally, about 54 percent of all registered apprentices are in the construction industry. The metal trades account for 16 percent, followed by service and repair, 10 percent; printing 8 percent; and miscellaneous 12 percent.<sup>31</sup> New York State generally follows this pattern except for the importance of printing, which accounted for 16.7 percent of the registered apprentices in 1951.<sup>32</sup>

At the end of World War II, it was estimated that almost 10 percent of the employed labor force in New York State earned their living in apprenticeable trades. The number of apprenticeable trades is also reflected in the fact that the State Department of Education has developed curricula for 237 skilled crafts. (See List 1, Appendix A for a list of apprenticeable occupations and the term of apprenticeship for each craft.)

Apprentices in New York State are concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations. Five trades—woodworking, printing, automotive, pipe and trowel—accounted for almost 55 percent of all registered apprentices immediately following World War II. Again,

the concentration of apprentices in these trades reflects the importance of the construction and printing industries of New York City in the apprenticeship field.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Research Division, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Research Project No. 1, *A Survey of the New York State Apprenticeship Program*, New York, 1948, *passim*. (Mimeographed) The legislation was patterned after the Fitzgerald Act.
- <sup>2</sup> Edward B. Van Dusen, *Apprenticeship in Western New York State*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Research Bulletin No. 2., June 1949, pp. 6-7. The Act is Article 23, added L. 1945, c. 377.
- <sup>3</sup> New York State Department of Labor, Apprenticeship Council, *Apprenticeship in New York State*, Albany, p. 12. The Industrial Commissioner provides staff and other aid; the Commissioner of Education undertakes educational programs; and the Commissioner of Commerce is charged with obtaining data and information related to the manpower needs of industry.
- <sup>4</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- <sup>5</sup> Apprenticeship Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
- <sup>6</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- <sup>7</sup> District offices of the Council are located in New York City, Albany, Binghamton, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and Utica. The administrative office is in Albany. Staff consists of supervising and training representatives and clerical personnel. They are divided among the administrative, review and field divisions of the Council.
- <sup>8</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. Personnel also:  
... are to review standards of apprenticeship to see that they conform with the Council's policy in all respects, and to assist management and labor in problems that affect apprenticeship systems; to gather from all sources ... information on trade training, and to disseminate it to industry; and to develop a library of facts on apprenticeship standards to be used for ... reference and informational purposes."
- <sup>9</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13. The Act is 50 stat. 664; U.S.C. 50.
- <sup>10</sup> Apprenticeship Council, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Also Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Sections 812 and 814 of Article 23, Chapter 377 of the Labor Law of the State of New York reads:  
812... Related and supplemental instruction  
Related and supplemental instruction for apprentices, coordination of instruction with job experience, and the selection of teachers and coordinators for such instruction shall be the responsibility of state and local boards responsible for vocational education.  
As provided by other statutes, the Department of Education shall be responsible for and provide related training as required by apprenticeship programs set up under this article.
- 814... Suggested standards for apprenticeship agreements  
3. A statement of the number of hours to be spent by the apprentice in work and the number of hours to spent in related and supplemental instruction which instruction shall be no less than one hundred forty-four hours per year.
- <sup>11</sup> The foregoing is based on Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.
- <sup>12</sup> One such program consists of:  
Blueprint Reading and Drawing  
Elementary Blueprint Reading  
Blueprint Reading for Construction Trades  
Freehand Sketching  
Template Making  
Drafting and Layout—  
Heating and Systems

- Power Plant
- Cooling Plant
- Air Conditioning Plant
- Mathematics
  - Fundamentals
  - Welding Mathematics
  - Heating System Mathematics
  - Power Plant Mathematics
  - Cooling Plant Mathematics
  - Air Conditioning Mathematics
- Industrial and Labor Relations
  - History and Background
  - Current Laws and Practices
- Trade Theory and Science Related to:
  - Welding
  - Heating Systems
  - Power Plant Operations
  - Refrigeration
  - Air Conditioning
  - Other trade information
- Other Related Courses

<sup>13</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

<sup>14</sup> New York State Apprenticeship Council, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> New York State Apprenticeship Council, *Report of The First New York State Apprenticeship Conference*, October, 1953, p. 5. A former industrial Commissioner stated:

... we have tried to interfere as little as possible except to encourage the good work that was going on and to try and see that there was more of it.

<sup>16</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> New York State Apprenticeship Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Bureau of Apprenticeship, U.S. Department of Labor, *National Standards of Apprenticeship for the Lathing Industry*, 1956, Washington, pp. 10-12.

<sup>22</sup> Apprenticeship Council, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Research and Statistics, New York State Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 16. This appears to contain the only estimate of nonregistered apprentices in New York State; Cf. Kursh, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>25</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 228. Nationally, 1949 was the peak year, with 235,000 registered apprentices undergoing training.

<sup>26</sup> These trends can be seen in the following data which are all that are available: (1) At the end of 1942, 126 programs, covering 306 employers and indenturing 1,102 apprentices, were registered with the Council. (2) By April 1945, 170 programs were in effect covering 800 employers and 866 apprentices. (3) With the cessation of hostilities in World War II, the apprenticeship program grew rapidly; by July 1946, 1,571 programs, carried out by 8,566 employers and employing 11,262 apprentices, were registered with the State Apprenticeship Council. (4) Six months later the program had expanded to a point where 18,503 employers were involved in 6,621 programs indenturing 21,721 apprentices. (5) Thereafter, the number of apprentices, indenturing units and programs grew, at a decreased rate, until December 31, 1948 when 29,366 apprentices were enumerated. From this point, the number of employers, programs and apprentices has dropped steadily, though irregularly, to the mark registered in September 1958.

<sup>27</sup> As late as 1952, 60 percent of the apprentices were veterans. National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Cf., Anglo American Council on Productivity, *Productivity Report, Training of Operatives*, New York, 1951, pp. 25-26. Less than one percent of apprentices in 1951 were women.

<sup>28</sup> The analysis of Labor Department records on these firms by the State Commission Against Discrimination showed that: (1) 105 indenturing units, each having 10 or more apprentices, employed 8,493 apprentices. Thus, 4.6 percent of the total indenturing units employed 74.0 percent of the total apprentices. (2) When the data are ordered for firms and committees indenturing 5 or more apprentices, it was found that 170 of the units employed 8,905 apprentices. Thus, 7.4 percent of the state's indenturing units employed 77.6 percent of the total number of apprentices.

Using the same system, the following relations hold for the seven regional areas:

*Percentage Distribution of Major  
Indenturing Units, by Apprentices, by Area  
November, 1957*

Region	Firms Having 5 or more Apprentices	Have Percent of Total Apprentices	Firms Having 10 or more Apprentices	Have Percent of Total Apprentices
State Totals	7.4	77.6	4.6	74.0
Albany	6.8	47.7	2.6	34.9
Binghamton	4.8	44.8	2.8	38.9
Buffalo	7.9	55.6	3.7	46.2
New York	9.1	88.3	6.8	86.8
Rochester	10.8	46.8	3.8	33.2
Syracuse	6.5	44.5	3.5	36.0

<sup>29</sup> Kursh, *op. cit.*, p. 60

<sup>30</sup> As follows:

*Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Programs  
and Apprentices, by Region, November, 1957*

Regions	Number of Firms or Joint Apprentice Committees	Number of Apprentices	Percentage Distribution of Apprentices
Syracuse	167	341	2.9
Binghamton	250	549	4.7
New York	917	8,402	73.2
Utica	208	459	4.0
Rochester	182	391	3.4
Buffalo	238	692	6.0
Albany	307	636	5.5
Total	2269	11,470	100.0

<sup>31</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>32</sup> Based on an analysis of the industrial deployment of 23,088 apprentices indentured in New York in 1951. Almost 50 percent of these were in construction.

## **PART TWO**

### **BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN THE APPRENTICESHIP PROCESS**



## INTRODUCTION

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has evidenced interest in and concern over the problem of Negroes and apprenticeship since its formation in 1945. In early 1957, information forwarded to the Commission by responsible organizations indicated possible widespread violations of the Law Against Discrimination by some parties to the apprenticeship process. Acting upon this and other pertinent data and information, the Commission decided to establish the exact status of Negroes in registered apprenticeship programs and to delineate the reasons for their apparent absence in large numbers from such programs.

In this direction, the Research Division reviewed the general literature pertinent to the problem and formulated interview schedules designed to elicit needed data and information. With the cooperation of the New York State Department of Labor, a sample was drawn of the indenturing units in the state which apprenticed five or more apprentices. Beginning in January 1958, interviews were conducted by personnel of the Commission with the 175 major indenturing units of the state, which included about 75 percent of the registered apprentices in New York. By January 1959 interviews were successfully completed with 80 percent of the sample respondents. The data and information were then analyzed and incorporated into the body of this report. (For a full statement of procedures see Appendix B, Methodology.)

From this analysis, it appears that, at most, two percent of the registered apprentices in major programs in the state are Negro.

When the data are ordered geographically and by trades, they reveal that:

1. Negroes are not employed as apprentices by any of the major registered indenturing units located in the Utica, Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo regions of the New York State Apprenticeship Council.
2. Negroes currently receive apprentice training from only a small number of the major indenturing units in the Albany and Binghamton regions.
3. The paucity of Negro apprentices in major registered appren-

tice programs in upstate New York extends to every industry but is particularly pronounced in printing, construction, metal working and transportation.

4. Of the relatively few Negro apprentices in the state, nearly all are located in the New York City region.
5. Within the New York City region, Negroes are not employed as apprentices in the registered metal trades or transportation programs.
6. In the printing trades (with the exception of the Printing Pressmans Assistants Union), Negroes either serve in insignificant numbers, or not at all.
7. The building trades in New York City stand as the most significant indenturing units for Negro apprentices in the state.
8. Within this last grouping, Negroes are presently undergoing apprentice training in the electrical, bricklaying, painting and, possibly, carpentry trades, among others.
9. Negro youth are not in the major apprenticeship programs undertaken by the plumbers, steamfitters, sheet metal workers, structural and ornamental iron workers, plasterers, mosaic and terrazo workers, and related trades.
10. Neither are Negroes indentured by employers or joint apprenticeship committees in a number of miscellaneous trades. This holds true, also, for almost all trades outside of the New York City portion of the New York City region.

This pattern indicates that Negro youth has made little progress in the apprenticeship training system in New York State during the past one hundred years. As a consequence, the entrance of Negroes into the skilled trades has been effectively limited, no matter what the causal factors for this condition.

To establish why Negroes are completely excluded from or evidence small participation in major registered apprenticeship programs in the state, sample respondents were asked the following question:

*Table 1*

QUESTION:

*If your firm or committee does not have any or many Negro apprentices, list all of the important reasons which you believe are responsible for this condition?*

RESPONSES:

	<i>Number (160)</i>
No Negro applicants: few or none apply	58
Very few or no Negroes in area	23

Few or no Negroes are employed in preapprenticeable occupations	8
Information about apprenticeship is not made available to Negroes; Negroes don't hear or know about apprenticeship programs	7
Low wages; Negroes want to go into more lucrative, higher prestige employment	7
Negroes are not referred by unions	6
Negroes lack interest in apprenticeship	5
Few apprenticeship openings	5
Negroes are not sponsored by journeymen or relatives	5
Management will not hire Negroes	4
Apprentices are drafted from schools; Negroes are not in schools	3
Other responses	11
No response	18

The responses indicate a wide variety of factors which inhibit the entry of Negroes into apprenticeship programs. This is especially true when a number of other factors are taken into consideration and when the full implications of the major stated reason—"Negroes do not apply"—are examined in detail.

The following chapters represent an attempt to order the inhibiting factors in a logical arrangement, proceeding from the very general to the very specific. Such an arrangement does not take into account the exact weight of any or all of the inhibiting factors which are discussed. Hence, it is impossible to say that any of the factors, or combinations thereof, tend to limit the entrance chances of Negroes to a greater degree than others. This is especially true because of the orientation of the analysis toward apprenticeship as a whole. Crucial here is the fact that factors which have great weight in some crafts have little effect or are inoperative in other trades. On the other hand, any one of the factors discussed below are thought to be sufficient to inhibit the participation by some Negro youth in some skilled training programs. When it is realized that combinations of some factors, or all factors, are possible in some situations, it is not surprising that Negroes are seldom apprentices.

## CHAPTER IV

### GENERAL BARRIERS

A number of general factors tend to inhibit the entrance of all youth into various apprenticeship training systems. They do so either by limiting the number of available apprenticeship openings or by making employment in apprenticeship relatively unattractive. These factors apply to both white and Negro youth, though not necessarily with equal force.

#### *I. The Availability of Alternate Training Opportunities*

One factor limiting the number of apprentices, both Negro and white, is the status of apprenticeship as a system of skilled-craft training. Apprenticeship has been a marginal mode of skilled-craft preparation in the United States since the advent of the industrial revolution and for Negroes has never been a significant system of skilled-craft training. As indicated in Chapter II, apprenticeship has offered relatively few skilled training opportunities in New York State except for the period immediately following World War II. Currently, registered apprenticeship programs are in a minority among the training systems offered by most New York State industries, if formal preparation is proffered at all.<sup>1</sup> Totally, only 4,000 job openings are available in all registered apprenticeship programs each year in the state.<sup>2</sup>

The minority status of registered apprenticeship may be attributed directly to some of the policies and practices of craft unions.<sup>3</sup> It may also be related to a number of considerations which pervade management attitudes towards skilled-craft training.<sup>4</sup> Government and the public too, bear a responsibility for the relatively low status of apprenticeship in New York State.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the causes, the effect has been to upgrade alternate systems of skilled-craft preparation.<sup>6</sup> Currently, these appear to provide greater opportunities for skilled-craft training than those held

out by formal apprenticeship systems. As a result, most youth will tend to avoid the entire formal apprenticeship structure and seek training opportunities through less formal modes. Since this confirms the historical experience of the skilled Negro labor force, the factor has particular weight in limiting the number of Negro youths who bid for apprenticeship openings. Quite objectively, Negroes have better opportunities for skilled training entirely outside of registered apprenticeship programs.

## II. *The Impact of the Overall Employment Level*

In addition to being a relatively minor form of skilled-craft preparation, formal apprenticeship is prevented from achieving its full training potential by a number of objective economic factors.

The National Manpower Council notes that the proportion of workers in skilled occupations varies with changes in the general level of employment. The proportion of workers who hold apprenticeship status likewise varies with the general level of skilled-craft employment.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the level of employment in apprenticeship is related directly, if not exactly, to overall levels of employment.<sup>8</sup> Under conditions of full or near full employment, turnover rates for skilled craftsmen tend to be high.<sup>9</sup> As a result, there is a greater need for training skilled craftsmen, which is partially accomplished through apprenticeship programs.<sup>10</sup> Also under conditions of full employment, segments of the economy are likely to be in a period of expansion. Economic growth fosters the creation of a higher and more complex number of occupations. This process usually extends to skilled-craft occupations and the need for training new craftsmen through apprenticeship is thereby augmented.

One particular mechanism in the apprenticeship process directly relates the creation of apprenticeship openings to conditions of full employment. This is the result of trade union policies and practices which link the number of apprentices to the number of journeymen. Expressed as a ratio, this formula provides, for instance, that a firm may employ one apprentice for every five journeymen of a particular craft, either on a departmental or plant-wide basis. Under such a system, it necessarily follows that, if the level of employment of journeymen is high or increasing, the opportunity to employ apprentices will be high or increasing. While there is no exact correlation between the two and the opportunity to employ apprentices is often-times not exercised, it still holds that there is a greater opportunity to employ apprentices under conditions of full employment than when

this is not the case. Conversely, many collective bargaining agreements provide for the inverse or direct separation of apprentices to journeymen during lay-off periods.<sup>11</sup> Here, again, the ratio mechanism links apprenticeship opportunities to overall levels of employment.

The relationship between overall employment levels and the amount of employment available through apprenticeship programs is confirmed by the sample survey and by related data and information. In recent months (Spring, 1959) overall levels of employment in New York State have been relatively low.<sup>12</sup> Apprenticeship employment levels have been stable or have tended to decline. As reported by the vast majority of respondents, there has been an oversupply of youth competing for available employment opportunities in apprenticeship programs, though this varies by localities and trades.<sup>13</sup> Some respondents related the low number of apprentices being indentured by them to the recession while others suggested that the way to place more youths into apprenticeship was by ending the recession and creating more job opportunities.

The total employment, apprenticeship employment link, has a direct bearing on the number of Negroes who seek apprenticeship training. The higher the objective employment opportunities, the greater the likelihood that Negroes will present themselves for, and possibly achieve, such employment. Also under conditions of full employment, Negro youth can be more selective in seeking jobs, have greater occupational mobility and receive more occupational information. Their apprenticeship opportunities are accordingly enhanced. Equally important, the resistance of indenturing units to the employment of nonwhites is lessened during periods of high economic activity. Labor shortages tend to inhibit the expression of racial prejudices.<sup>14</sup> As a consequence, Negroes tend to achieve wider employment during such periods, a condition which probably extends to apprenticeship.<sup>15</sup>

It would appear then that, in general, the total level of employment is related to job opportunities in apprenticeship programs and that when these are low, the objective apprenticeship opportunities for Negro youth will also tend to be low, and vice versa.

### III. *Restrictive Formulae and Arrangements*

Another factor limiting the total number of apprentices is the formula linking the hiring of apprentices to the employment of journeymen. As previously outlined, the mechanism restricts the number of apprentices an employer may hire; the limitation being expressed

in the form of a ratio of apprentices-to-journeymen. Of the sample respondents, 81 reported that they operated under some expression of such a formula. Another 19 worked under some other restricting device, such as an absolute ceiling on the total number of apprentices that could be employed. The ratios varied by trades and ran from a high of one apprentice for every two journeymen to a low of one to ten. The median was one to six. Ratios and other formulae are the expression of craft union attempts to regulate the supply of skilled labor and are ratified by the State Apprenticeship Council through their inclusion in apprenticeship agreements.<sup>16</sup>

Such formulae tend to restrict the number of job openings available in registered apprenticeship programs. They do so in two forms. First, they tend to limit or absolutely prohibit the number of apprentices hired by small or medium sized firms or by departments of large concerns. This is due to the fact that, if the ratio is high, some employers will never meet the minimum journeymen ratio and hence cannot employ any, or more than a few apprentices.<sup>17</sup> Other employers may always be one or two journeymen away from the next stage in the employment of apprentices.<sup>18</sup> While this may have little effect on a particular employer, the additive effects on a craft-wide and state-wide basis may be considerable.

The second limiting factor involves the criteria used to establish a particular ratio. According to Slichter<sup>19</sup> and the New York State Apprenticeship Council,<sup>20</sup> most indenturing units appear to predicate the ratio on the basis of skilled replacement needs alone. Very little, if any, thought is given to the growth needs of a particular firm or the trade as a whole.<sup>21</sup> Again, the effect is trade-wide, state-wide and cumulative. It results in fewer apprenticeship openings, part of the incidence falling on aspiring nonwhite craftsmen.

It is also clear that few employers hire as many apprentices as union rules permit. This is as true historically<sup>22</sup> as it is currently.<sup>23</sup> Employers are motivated by a number of considerations in this regard, as noted above (fn.4).<sup>24</sup> The result has been to prevent registered apprenticeship from providing all of the employment opportunities which are possible even under present conditions. The minority status of registered apprenticeship is reinforced by such practices, with a consequent diminution in the employment chances of Negro youth.

Another impediment is that of seniority systems. In many firms, apprentices are drawn from those already employed, sometimes on a plant-wide but usually on a departmental basis. Consequently, if Negroes do not hold pre-apprenticeable occupations in particular

units of a firm, and then meet longevity and other qualifications, it is impossible for them to bid for openings in registered apprenticeship programs. In the South, the fixing of strict departmental seniority lists, and the concentration of Negroes in departments where skilled opportunities are non-existent, effectively precludes Negroes from undertaking apprenticeship training or otherwise achieving skilled-craft status.<sup>25</sup>

It is not known whether the seniority system factor is detrimental to the opportunities of Negroes among sample respondents since this information was not systematically elicited during the course of the interviews. On the other hand, a number of respondents advanced such a view, particularly as it relates to the printing and metal craft industries. To the extent that Negroes fail to achieve employment on the less skilled levels of an indenturing unit, they necessarily cannot apply for and achieve positions in apprenticeship programs.

#### IV. *Where New York Negroes Live and Where the Jobs Are*

As indicated in Table 1 above, it was the belief of a majority of the respondents that Negroes did not achieve positions in apprenticeship programs because they did not apply for such opportunities. In amplifying upon this response, a number of respondents attributed the absence of Negro applicants to the lack of Negroes in the particular area. This was especially true of the respondents in the upstate regions of the Apprenticeship Council, particularly those whose establishments were located outside of major urban centers. One respondent, for instance, noted that "there was only one Negro teenager in the area . . . [and] he just left for New York City."

Objectively, opportunities for apprenticeship training are dependent in part on the concentration of particular industries in certain areas. It is obviously impossible to become an apprentice tool and die maker if there are no tool and die shops in the local labor market area.<sup>26</sup> This has particular relevance for Negroes. While nonwhites in New York are concentrated almost exclusively in the metropolitan areas of the state, they are disproportionately domiciled in New York City.<sup>27</sup> Thus, apprenticeship opportunities outside of the immediate New York City area are not normally accessible to the vast majority of young Negroes.<sup>28</sup> This appears to be particularly true of apprenticeship opportunities in the metal crafts and a number of other industries which have formal training programs.<sup>29</sup> As a result, the ecological pattern of apprenticeship and skilled-craft employment stands as an additional barrier to the apprenticeship chances of Negro youth.



## V. *Negative Attitudes to Manual Work*

The lack of Negroes applying for skilled-craft jobs through apprenticeship programs may be partially attributed to the relative unattractiveness of such jobs when compared with alternate occupations.<sup>30</sup> To the extent that such occupations fail to measure up to the occupational expectations of Negro youths, this segment of the labor force will fail to seek training and employment in such fields. The relative rewards of apprenticeship and skilled craftsmanship, as against other work, must then be viewed as factors which may inhibit the movement of Negroes into the skilled trades.

Prominent among these is the invidious evaluation made by Negroes of the entire range of skilled-craft occupations. As Ginzberg points out, the low prestige of manual work is probably more significant for Negroes than whites. Over the years, Negroes have not normally been able to rationally plan their life work and usually have badly skewed occupational goals. "As a result of this background, the ambitious young Negro is even more likely than the white youth to scorn skilled work and to overestimate the importance of achieving status through white-collar or professional employment."<sup>31</sup> Antonovsky also found that Negro youngsters of low economic status have a greater identification with the higher occupational levels. He attributes such an identification—and consequent status drives—to the fact that Negro youths are usually presented with relatively unsuccessful parents. Rather than identify with them, they try to be as unlike their parents as possible.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, Negro youths tend to eschew all manual work, even though such a rejection involves the loss of the relative high rewards and satisfactions provided by employment in skilled occupations.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the sample respondents noted this tendency. Seven stated their belief that Negroes did not go into apprenticeship programs because they sought "more lucrative, higher prestige" employment. This trend away from all manual occupations is not limited to Negroes but represents a historical movement which permeates most strata of American society.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the incidence of this factor, it tends to inhibit some Negroes from entering skilled occupations through apprenticeship training.

## VI. *The Low Wages of Apprentices*

Both Negroes and whites may be deterred from entering formal skilled-craft training programs because of immediate income prospects of this type of employment. The initial deterrent is related to

the wages commanded by apprentices. An unfavorable comparison is made with the psychic and real income levels held out by apprenticeable and alternate occupations. Weighing the advantages and disadvantages of apprentice employment, some youth will tend to enter other occupations.

As shown in Table 1, some respondents believed that Negroes failed to enter apprenticeship programs because of the wage factor. In response to the query as to how to place more youths into apprenticeship, five stated that the starting wage scale for apprentices was not sufficient for an apprentice to maintain himself and his family. Some sample respondents reporting difficulty in obtaining candidates for their apprenticeship programs said that one of the factors for this condition was the apprentice wage scale. This was typically expressed in the following statements:

They can get better salaries elsewhere.

The wages are not attractive.

They can make more money as helpers in the industry.

Wages are low—young people want to make a lot without working.

The relative low level of the apprenticeship wage scale is a result of the fact that apprentices are not as fully productive as skilled workers. By definition, an apprentice is learning to become skilled, with his productivity increasing to the degree that he approximates the ultimate skills of the trade. Wage scales are related to this increasing level of skill acquisition and productivity.

Characteristically, an apprentice initially earns 50 percent of the prevailing wage of journeymen in the particular craft.<sup>35</sup> The starting wage may even be lower.<sup>36</sup> In any event, the starting wage may be smaller than that commanded by unskilled or semiskilled workers in the same plant or local labor market area. Moreover, the wage advantage may be maintained by the unskilled or semiskilled worker for a fairly long period of time.<sup>37</sup>

This factor affects Negro youth with fairly substantial weight. Coming from a low income group, young Negroes may not have the financial support which is needed to augment the apprentice wage and sustain them through the early stages of the skilled training period.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Negro youth frequently must share in the support of the family unit at an early age. Vocational training may be effectively precluded by the overriding need to supplement the income of the family. Additionally, the background of family poverty may spur the young Negro to reach for a higher income level as soon as possible with little or no regard for the long-run wage

factors of any given occupation. Finally, Negro youth is not apt to have a primary or secondary source which can help him make a more rational occupational choice. This extends to information and advice on skilled-unskilled wage differentials.<sup>39</sup>

The net effect of the above is to place young Negroes in a position where they forego long-range material rewards for the immediate gratification of economic needs and wants. Immediately remunerative occupations are sought and accepted, to the detriment of vocational training and long-range economic interests. Such an occupational outlook is also prevalent among low-income whites, of course, but the deterring factors would appear to culminate with greater force in the case of the Negro.

A relatively new impediment is developing with respect to the income earned by skilled-craftsmen. Over time, their income has been substantially above that of unskilled and semiskilled workers and has compared favorably with that of lower and middle level white-collar workers. In recent years, however, the differential has lessened:

According to one estimate, the average wages of skilled workers in manufacturing were more than double those of unskilled workers in 1907. The differential declined to 75 percent by 1919, increased slightly to 80 percent by 1932, and then declined steadily to 65 percent in 1940, 55 percent in 1947, and less than 40 percent in early 1953.<sup>40</sup>

The decline in the skilled/less-skilled wage differential is a function of a number of factors.<sup>41</sup> Its effect is subject to varying interpretations. Some union leaders believe that the decline ". . . has seriously reduced the incentives for becoming all-round machinists."<sup>42</sup> The National Manpower Council, on the other hand, thinks that the lessening differential has not (nor is it likely to) impaired the supply of skilled workers. It does feel that workers as a whole may be less willing to make sacrifices to become skilled but that this cannot be attributed solely to the reduced wage differential.<sup>43</sup>

To the extent that some Negroes are effected by the lessening wage differential, this factor will tend to limit the total number of Negroes seeking positions in extended apprenticeship training programs.

## VII. *Other General Factors.*

The seasonal character of employment in some skilled trades may inhibit some youths from undertaking apprenticeship training. As Haber points out, month-by-month employment was found to be the most ". . . important single explanation as to why boys shunned the

building trades and why contractors shunned training them.<sup>44</sup> Because of changes in building construction over the years, this factor may not be as important today as it was in the twenties. Nonetheless, to the extent that employment in any industry is irregular, youths will tend to look elsewhere for training and/or employment opportunities. Negroes, of course, would be expected to act in substantially the same manner.

Another possible restricting factor is the length of training for a particular craft job. The term of apprenticeship may be such that aspiring artisans may not be strongly motivated to enter and remain in some apprenticeship programs.<sup>45</sup> This may be especially true when the term has been established to serve the interests of either unions or management<sup>46</sup> and has little or no relationship to the development of skills.<sup>47</sup> When this is the case, another barrier is imposed for both majority and minority youth.

None of the foregoing factors are permanent or rigid. The 1957-58 recession is largely past history. As some sample respondents pointed out, ratios or absolute restrictions are oftentimes ignored in practice and many are based on rational determinations of present and future skilled manpower requirements. Historically the length of apprenticeship has lessened considerably and provisions are made for talented youth to complete training at a date earlier than that usually prescribed by apprenticeship agreements. Wage rates are high or increasing in many trades. Significant segments of labor and management are firmly committed to apprenticeship and do all that they can to improve its attractiveness to youth. As a result, whites and non-whites are being afforded greater opportunities to enter formal skilled training programs. By and large, however, the above factors continue as deterrents serving to minimize the number of both Negroes and whites who apply for openings in registered apprenticeship programs in New York State.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This is not true of apprenticeship in the construction and printing industries where it is the cardinal mode of training.

<sup>2</sup> This is based on a twelve month projection of the data in Tables 9 and 10, Appendix A and the assumption that net turnover rates are low because of the time scheduling of apprenticeship programs.

<sup>3</sup> Unions do not imitate apprenticeship programs, or limit their activities in this connection, in order to restrict the available supply of craftsmen. Where near or full conditions of monopoly obtain, unions stand in a better bargaining position with employers and are able to obtain greater benefits for union members. Restrictions on the level of apprenticeship training also allow

craftsmen to perpetuate quality of product over generations, reduce intra-occupational competition and maintain labor standards and conditions.

On the other hand, the National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Skilled Manpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, pp. 242-243, points out that:

Very few occupations are so fully organized that the union can exercise complete control over entrance to training or employment. In most fields, the union cannot insist too rigidly on apprenticeship as a prerequisite for membership and employment. Many workers acquire skills informally in nonunion shops, and unions hoping to organize them cannot bar such workers from membership. The degree to which unions restrict informal training varies widely in different occupations and fields. The building and printing trades place strong emphasis on apprenticeship. But even in the building trades, apprenticeship is not the usual method of becoming a construction machinery operator or an elevator constructor. Even in strong craft unions that place great emphasis on apprenticeship, many members have acquired their skills in other ways. Only 30 percent of the new members admitted to the building trades branch of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters in 1953 came in as apprentices.

\* The general literature lists eight considerations in this connection:

1. The desire to avoid the creation of separate bargaining units through the differentiation of skills, as promoted by apprenticeship.

2. The desire to avoid governmental interference or regulation. By not initiating a registered apprenticeship program, employers avoid what is thought to be excessive governmental red-tape.

3. The desire to avoid what is oftentimes considered as another intrusion by labor into managerial prerogatives. By not initiating an apprenticeship program, management precludes labor from taking a part in such training.

4. The desire to prevent competitive firms from employing craftsmen who are trained by and then leave the employ of an indenturing unit.

5. The desire to hire only skilled craftsmen. Here, immediate demand and supply schedules are met and no thought is given to future manpower requirements.

6. The desire to avoid increased costs. By not hiring any, or limiting the number of apprentices, management necessarily reduces short run labor costs.

7. The desire to avoid the inconvenience and expense of training apprentices. Approaching the problem individualistically and on a short-run basis, many employers perceive apprenticeship as a burden; its benefits are not readily apparent to them.

8. Apathy. Many employers do not consider the training of skilled craftsmen as a problem or have never had the issue raised. In any event, no, or only limited, training programs are undertaken by such firms.

\* Various data make it appear that the Apprenticeship Council has reached and convinced only a tiny segment of the potential indenturing units in the state of the desirability of initiating apprenticeship programs. The general public has just become fairly concerned over manpower shortages in professional and scientific occupations. Its concern over skilled-craft manpower requirements appears to be negligible.

\* These include non-registered apprenticeship programs; on the job training system; night, correspondence and vocational schools; and occupational experience gained by exposure to skilled work, intra-industry, occupational mobility; imitation and incidental instruction. National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Skilled Manpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, pp. 219-224.

\* National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 75. This is due to the fact that skilled manpower is concentrated in construction and manufacturing, where employment tends to fluctuate widely.

\* During the depression, for instance, there were very few employment oppor-

tunities in skilled-craft jobs. Apprenticeship opportunities were similarly limited.

<sup>9</sup> This is true of almost all occupations and is partially attributable to greater intra- and inter-occupational mobility.

<sup>10</sup> There is, of course, a lag between the need for training skilled manpower and the actual initiation of such training.

<sup>11</sup> For example, an employer might be required to lay off three apprentices for every two journeymen who are discharged.

<sup>12</sup> State of New York, Department of Labor, "Unemployment Patterns," *Industrial Bulletin*, March 1959, pp. 17-20.

<sup>13</sup> Only 17 sample respondents reported any difficulty in obtaining apprentices.

<sup>14</sup> Conversely, an over-supply of labor heightens resistance to the employment of Negroes.

<sup>15</sup> This is hypothetical, since information about Negro apprentices during periods of full employment is not available.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter III, Section II.

<sup>17</sup> Some agreements provide for the employment of at least one apprentice per department or shop.

<sup>18</sup> If the ratio is 1:5 and the employer has 9 journeymen, the employer will actually be employing at a ratio of 1:9.

<sup>19</sup> Sumner H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management*, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> New York State Department of Labor, Apprenticeship Council, *Apprenticeship in New York State*, Albany, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> It is apparently more than an accident that the total number of registered apprentices in New York State, about 14,000, is equal to the attrition factor for skilled craftsmen, about 14,000.

<sup>22</sup> Sumner H. Slichter *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> This is based on an analysis of the skilled craftsmen employed by sample respondents in relation to the ratio under which they operate and the number of apprentices they employ. Very few appear to be employing as many apprentices as their particular formula allows.

<sup>24</sup> William Haber, *Industrial Relations in the Building Industry*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930, p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> National Planning Association, *Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South*; Case Study No. 1. John Hope II, "Negro Employment in 3 Southern Plants of International Harvester Company," National Publishing Company, Washington, February 1955, p. 235.

<sup>26</sup> National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Skilled Manpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, p. 235.

<sup>27</sup> Less than 15 percent of the nonwhite population of New York State lives outside the New York City metropolitan area.

<sup>28</sup> About one-fourth of all registered apprentices in the state are outside of the New York City region of the Apprenticeship Council.

<sup>29</sup> Analysis of sample respondents shows that most of the indenturing units in the metal crafts are located in the upstate regions of the Apprenticeship Council. This is also true of the glass working trades and transportation.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>31</sup> Eli Ginzberg with the assistance of James K. Anderson, Douglas W. Bray and Robert W. Smuts, *The Negro Potential*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1956, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> Aaron Antonovsky and Melvin J. Lerner, "Negro and White Youth in Elmira," *Discrimination and Low Incomes*, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, New York, 1959, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Actually, Negro youth tend to achieve the less-skilled levels of manual work even though the aspiration is towards other kinds of employment.

<sup>34</sup> C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> This is one of the standards of the New York State Apprenticeship Council.

<sup>36</sup> United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Apprenticeship, *Setting Up An Apprenticeship Program: A Guide for Employers In Training Apprentices*

for *Craftsmanship*, 1954 Edition, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. p. 5. Employers of apprentices may be granted exceptions from minimum wage requirements under relevant portions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act.

<sup>37</sup> Both relationships are indicated in part by the following wage scale for apprentices established by the Syracuse Typographical Union No. 55. The scale is established in terms of the journeyman's rate, which is \$3.05 an hour, for the day shift:

First Year:	Second Year:
First six months.....40%	First six months.....45%
Second six months.....42½%	Second six months.....50%
Third Year:	Fourth Year:
First six months.....55%	First six months.....65%
Second six months.....60%	Second six months.....70%
Fifth Year:	Sixth Year:
First six months.....75%	First six months.....85%
Second six months.....80%	Second six months.....90%

<sup>38</sup> Subsistence payment under the G.I. Bill of Rights was probably a boon for Negro and other low income apprentices and may help to explain the high level of apprenticeship between 1946 and 1949.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>40</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259, as follows:

The long-run decline in relative wage differentials for skill has been attributed to a number of factors. Modern technology has made it possible to employ persons with little or no specialized training effectively. This has been reflected in the rising wages of unskilled and semiskilled workers. The benefit of small productivity gains which take place continually in manufacturing is more likely to accrue to production workers, who are often paid piece rates, than to skilled workers, who are usually paid by the hour. The unusual demand during war and postwar booms for additional labor has been responsible for much of the decline in skilled wage differentials. Changes in the character of the labor supply because of better education, a later school-leaving age, a declining birth rate, and limitations on immigration have apparently affected wage differentials. The rise of industrial unions, with strong concern for the welfare of the main body of their members, has also been cited as a contributing cause. The trend toward smaller wage differentials for skilled workers is part of a much larger movement to reduce the upper and raise the lower extremes in income distribution, which has been reflected in the policies of management, unions, and government.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>44</sup> Haber, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>45</sup> See List 1, Appendix A for the terms of various apprenticeships.

<sup>46</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Also Slichter, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 24-28.

<sup>47</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Inside Policies of the International Typographical Union*, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1956, p. 30.

## CHAPTER V

### INTERMEDIATE BARRIERS

In this grouping of factors are ones which have a serious effect on the ability of Negroes to compete successfully for available openings in apprenticeship programs. Such factors tend to limit the apprenticeship opportunities of Negro youth because of the almost unique characteristic relationship of Negroes to the process of apprenticeship recruitment. Since the processes of occupational choice and selection are analogous for white youth, the factors cannot be categorized as being discriminatory *per se*. Yet the ultimate effect in the case of Negroes is such that, to all intents and purposes, they are excluded from apprenticeship programs because of their race or color. Discrimination of this kind, often "indirect" in its operation, specifically limits the number of Negroes who apply for openings or underlies their rejection if they do bid for training opportunities. In cases where the factors have been intentionally designed or are consciously manipulated to prevent the entrance of Negroes, they take on the full aspect of racial discrimination.

These factors are not always operative in all apprentice programs, nor do they have an incidence and effect which can not be overcome by some Negro youth. The absence of Negroes in large numbers from apprenticeship programs suggests, however, that the processes of occupational choice and selection do have a particularly limiting effect on the vast majority of potentially apprenticeable Negro youth.

#### I. *The Role of Personal Influences and Models in Occupational Choice*

Sample respondents were asked to indicate their belief as to how most youths first become interested in apprenticeship training. Their responses are summarized in Table 2.



Table 2

QUESTION:

*In your opinion, how do you think most youths first become interested in apprenticeship?*

RESPONSES	Number (194) <sup>1</sup>
Relatives, friends, neighbors and journeymen	95
Secondary schools, including teachers, principals and counsellors	37
"On-the-job"	30
Employers	19
Newspapers and other media	8
N.Y. State Employment Service	3
Veterans Administration	2

As indicated by the table, over two-thirds of the respondents emphasized the important role played by primary groups—the family, the neighborhood, the school—in the process of occupational choice. According to the general literature,<sup>2</sup> this is effected through the influence of key persons in each of these groupings, i.e., through "models" who offer the adolescent the information, encouragement and support which is needed to become an apprentice. The process of occupational identification may either be indirect or direct. In the former, no specific direction is given to the youth, but an environment is provided which is conducive to creating an interest in skilled craft employment. In the latter, specific efforts are undertaken to insure that the youth patterns himself in the occupational image of the influencing role model. In either case, the youth is led to make decisions which are necessary in order to achieve skilled-craft standing.<sup>3</sup>

A number of studies tend to confirm the significance of role models in evoking an original interest in apprenticeship and skilled-craftsmanship. Swerdloff and Bluestone found this in their study of the "Background and Career Choice of Tool and Die Makers."<sup>4</sup> Schuster indicates that half of his sample apprentices were advised by their parents or close relatives to become apprentices. Forty-six percent of the apprentices studied by Van Dusen reported that "relatives in the trade" was the most important influence in their choice of a skilled-craft career. School counsellors and other primary group models brought this influencing factor above the fifty percent mark. The weight of the factor is even higher when some of the reasons given by apprentices for their occupational choice are analyzed further.<sup>5</sup> In a study of the International Typographical Union, Lipset

found that family influences played an important role in the selection of this trade. Thus:

I took up printing in school. My stepmother and all her sisters had been printers and I heard the conversation at home so much that it was just the natural thing to do.

or

The family knew I was going to be a printer even though I didn't.<sup>6</sup>

That the family plays an important role in the process of skilled occupational choice is also evidenced by the fact that sons often follow the same, or a related, trade as their fathers. This is borne out by many studies.<sup>7</sup>

Primary groups play an important role in influencing youths because they provide a value orientation toward various careers and the monetary and psychological resources which allow youths to follow specific vocations. Role models selectively interpret the occupational environment and shape and limit the youths' responses to alternate jobs.<sup>8</sup>

The data and studies cited thus far pertain primarily to conditions obtaining for whites and, in contrast to the foregoing pattern, Negro youth are seldom exposed to influences which can lead to apprenticeship. As data in Chapter One and Table 1 indicate, Negroes are not apt to have relatives, friends or neighbors in skilled occupations. Nor are they likely to be in secondary schools where they receive encouragement and direction from alternate role models. Within the minority community, skilled Negro "models" after whom the Negro youth might pattern himself are rare, while substitute sources which could provide the direction, encouragement, resources and information needed to achieve skilled-craft standing are non-existent.

Additionally:

The Negro child, moreover, is also likely to respond to the attitudes of the dominant white population toward the work role of his race. Seeing his elders holding down poor jobs and sensing that the white community takes this for granted, the Negro child is not likely to develop high aspirations for himself. Only as increasing numbers of their own race rise in the world of work will more young Negroes develop the motivation necessary to prepare themselves properly to compete for the better jobs.<sup>9</sup>

To compound the matter, there is no or little effort on the part of the Negro community to counteract this negativism which extends to the skilled trades. Since, historically, such occupations have been closed to Negroes. There has been no impetus to "... encourage the

younger generation to go through the long and arduous program of [apprentice training]."<sup>10</sup>

While depressed aspirations have generally been ascribed to the Negro population, Antonovsky, Ginzberg and others have found that some Negroes tend to have higher occupational goals than white youths of similar socio-economic backgrounds. There is abundant evidence, however, that such aspirations are seldom realized and that Negro youths are preparing at times for occupations which are realistically unattainable. Since decisions in this connection are made chronologically, and are largely irreversible, some Negroes are forever precluded from entering some fields where employment opportunities are relatively high. To an extent, this holds for apprenticeship and skilled-craftsmanship.<sup>11</sup>

In sum, Negroes do not apply for apprenticeship openings because an original interest in skilled-craft training is not normally evoked for them by role models in primary groups, and further, other influences lead away from rather than towards the skilled crafts. Moreover, the decisions involved in occupational choice, once made, cannot be amended later in life.

## II. *Learning of an Apprenticeship Opening*

Sample respondents were asked to indicate how most youth learned about specific openings in apprenticeship programs. The numerical distribution of the responses is indicated in Table 3.

*Table 3*

### *QUESTION:*

*How do you think most youths learn about specific apprenticeship openings?*

RESPONSES	Number (181) <sup>12</sup>
Employers	76
Unions	31
Relatives and friends	46
Secondary schools	17
New York State Employment Service <sup>13</sup> and other formal sources	11

When the above responses were categorized by trades, it was found that variations exist in the hiring practices of the various crafts, as follows:

1. In the *metal trades*, hiring is usually the exclusive prerogative of management. Apprentices are generally selected from indi-

viduals who are already employed, the selection process involving an upgrading of semiskilled and unskilled workers, sometimes on the basis of seniority. Rosters are utilized to some extent and the selection of apprentices is usually carried out by line personnel, such as foremen. Apprenticeship openings are advertised if at all, through in-plant media, such as bulletin boards.<sup>14</sup>

2. In the *printing trades*, the formal selection of apprentices is the responsibility of management. Foremen play a key role in selecting apprentices, who are chosen almost exclusively on a seniority and qualification basis from established lists of individuals in pre-apprenticeable occupations. Some in-plant communication is carried out and notices of apprentice openings are sometimes placed in newspapers.

Informally, unions play an important role in the selection process. This is usually done through the union's power to veto the appointment of an apprentice, after the indenture has taken place and during the probationary period. It may also be carried out in advance of the indenture through informal management-union agreements.<sup>15</sup>

3. In the *construction trades*, selecting apprentices is the particular province of the joint apprenticeship committees which, however, tend to be union appendages.<sup>16</sup> Apprentices are selected from current employees or are indentured from the general labor force. Building contractors and employers tend only to ratify the apprentice nominations advanced by the JAC's. Apprentices are sometimes chosen from lists on the basis of chronological and qualification considerations. Little or no outside publicity is given to the existence of openings in apprenticeship programs.<sup>17</sup>
4. In the *service trades*, the selection process is similar to that described for the metal crafts. The process in *transportation* is related closely to that followed in printing.<sup>18</sup>

The above procedures and patterns represent the formal modes of hiring apprentices. Realistically, however, they frequently have very little to do with the process of actually obtaining an apprenticeship.<sup>19</sup> The vast majority of openings in most apprenticeship programs are taken by youths who have some sort of interpersonal relationship with the selecting official. Youths usually obtain these positions because they have influence with a key individual in the apprenticeship selection process.

This influence, in turn, is usually the result of the youth receiving knowledge about an apprenticeship opening from a relative or friend who is in a position to know about the impending vacancy. Such knowledge is usually possible only if the relative or friend is an official of labor or management or if such individuals are employees of the firm where the indenture is to be carried out. Given such knowledge, the relative or friend can inform the youth of the time and type of vacancy and intercede on his behalf with the selecting official.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the youth may learn about and apply for an opening because he is currently employed by the indenturing unit and has fulfilled the formal requirements, if any, for the opening. In such cases, influence may have been exerted to place the youth in the occupational grouping from which apprentices are recruited. In either event, the youth obtains the apprenticeship because, succinctly stated, he is at the right place at the right time with the right kind of credentials.

Confirmation of the highly informal nature of apprenticeship recruitment comes from sample respondents. When asked if there were any differences between the official and actual ways of obtaining an apprenticeship, a number responded in the following typical manner:

Yes, a recommendation from a union member or friend helps.

It depends on who you know.

The employer may ask for a specific person.

The official way is very informal.

A chance arrangement with the shop foreman or union representative.

Whether the youth obtains the apprenticeship on the basis of his own or another individual's access to selecting officials, the effect is to promote skilled-craft occupational patronage in the form of cronyism or nepotism. The ability to perpetuate such a system, in turn, is dependent mainly on the scarcity of apprenticeship openings, absence of knowledge about apprenticeship, and the desirability of gaining skilled-craft employment. These tend to place a high premium on the exertion of personal influence to obtain apprenticeships, even if such methods run counter to formal selection processes.<sup>21</sup>

The effects of the informal nature of the selection of apprentices is compounded by the non-utilization of formal recruitment sources. As Table 3 indicates, only 11 respondents stated that they used formal channels of recruitment such as the mass media or the New York State Employment Service. Non-use of the services of the State Employment Service appears to be in contravention of a specific agreement between that agency and the State Apprenticeship Council.<sup>22</sup>

By not utilizing sources such as the State Employment Service, indenturing firms and JAC's necessarily place the burden of recruitment on employee recommendations or other informal modes of recruitment.

The lack of formal procedures in recruitment for registered apprenticeship programs is also enhanced by the non-utilization of the mass media of communication. Only 5 respondents indicated that they advertised in newspapers for apprentices.<sup>23</sup> During the course of this study, only one instance of the use of the mass media for apprenticeship recruitment came to the attention of the author. Moreover, this particular announcement was required by law.<sup>24</sup> Beyond the lack of information about specific job openings in apprenticeship, the survey of the literature undertaken for this present study revealed that there is virtually a complete blackout about apprenticeship in general. Where such information exists it is usually technical in nature.<sup>25</sup> The lack of information in this connection is apparently the result of governmental policies as well as labor and management practices.<sup>26</sup>

The esoteric nature of apprenticeship serves a variety of values and interests.<sup>27</sup> It withholds from sources outside of the apprenticeship structure basic information which can be used to direct uninformed youth into apprenticeship programs. Like Winston Churchill's characterization of the Soviet Union, apprenticeship is an enigma wrapped in mystery. As such, only those with access can penetrate the aura of secrecy surrounding the system and obtain the opportunities held out by this form of skilled training. In turn, this necessarily maximizes the informal nature of the apprenticeship recruitment process.

All of the foregoing imposes special barriers in the path of aspiring Negro artisans. Negro youth are not apt to have relatives or friends employed by indenturing units who can give them knowledge about apprenticeship openings. Equally, they have few, if any, neighbors or acquaintances who can directly or indirectly intercede on their behalf and obtain apprenticeship openings for them. Nor are they likely to be employed in the unskilled and semiskilled occupations from which some apprentices are drawn. As a result, they are unable to find out about apprenticeship openings on their own.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, they are apt to be seeking employment at public and private agencies where job orders for apprentices are not usually placed.<sup>29</sup> Their low mobility in local labor market areas is certainly reinforced by the absence of knowledge about apprenticeship in general or specific apprenticeship job openings in particular.<sup>30</sup> Further, the lack of in-

formation about apprenticeships does not allow sources in the minority community to intercede in the occupational selection process of Negro youth and provide them with knowledge and advice about registered training systems. Indeed, it appears that the Negro media, among others, may be playing an important role in distorting the job selection process of young Negroes.<sup>31</sup> Cumulatively, the apprenticeship recruitment process is such that it is remarkable that any Negroes are able to apply for positions in registered apprenticeship programs in New York State. This has been correctly perceived by a number of respondents, as indicated in Table 1.

### III. *Standards for Selecting Apprentices*

No matter how a youth becomes interested in apprenticeship or learns about a specific employment opportunity in an apprenticeship program, it is still incumbent upon the youth to meet certain criteria in order to achieve training in the skilled crafts. These criteria reflect the attitudes of management toward skilled-craft training as they are brought to bear on the selection process. Some of the criteria are of an objective nature; others tend to be subjective. All have a special effect on the ability of Negroes to gain positions in apprenticeship programs.

In general, hiring standards for apprentices are flexible. They vary by trades, localities, individual indenturing units and the quantity and quality of applicants. This reflects qualitative differences in the job content of various skilled trades and is also the result of the labor supply in local labor markets. The criteria used have a tendency to automatically exclude some workers from some apprenticeship training programs through failure to meet objective and subjective standards.<sup>32</sup>

In his study of apprenticeship, Van Dusen found that only 24 percent of the 1270 sample apprentices encountered a testing program in connection with their efforts to obtain apprenticeships. Of those that reported a testing program, one-half stated that it was an oral type test. As suggested by his data, the vast majority of apprentices are employed in a manner which points to ". . . a lack of an organized and reliable means of selection."<sup>33</sup> This is in contrast to the process in Wisconsin and Oregon, where aptitude tests are employed with high frequency and good effect.<sup>34</sup> Some observers suggest that the lack of objective modes of selection leads to an inordinately high turnover rate among apprentices. This is attributed to the fact that less qualified candidates enter apprenticeship pro-

grams in instances where aptitude tests and other objective criteria are not employed.<sup>35</sup>

Besides a general lack of objective standards, it appears that most indenturing units use criteria which do not readily lend themselves to objective measurements. The National Manpower Council reports that employers are more concerned with general rather than specific skills and aptitudes. Proper attitudes, correct motivation, a sense of responsibility, job interest and general intellectual skills are deemed more valuable than specific attainments. By setting such standards, management emphasizes "... the value of education for versatility."<sup>36</sup>

These criteria are not inherently detrimental to the entrance chances of aspiring Negro apprentices, who must measure up to white youth in all qualifications if they are to be selected for skilled training programs. Employers, however, tend to rely on hunches and personal predilections in the absence of objective hiring criteria. This may be especially true of smaller indenturing units where the selection process lies in the hands of lower level supervisory personnel. Given this latitude, it is possible that individual biases will come to the fore, resulting in the differential application of selection criteria to Negro youth. Conscious or unconscious manipulation of standards may effectively preclude Negroes from taking part in apprenticeship programs.

One objective criterion in the selection process falls with special weight on Negroes. This is management's insistence that applicants evidence a good scholastic record. Indenturing units tend to equate the successful completion of secondary school with the average or above average intelligence required for skilled-craft occupations. In the absence of such an attainment, the applicant for an apprenticeship becomes suspect in management's eye.

The importance of secondary schooling lies in its ability to inculcate youth "... to conditions and experiences comparable, in a number of important ways, to those ... they encounter when they go to work." Directly and indirectly, schools enforce regular schedules of work, assign tasks that must be completed, reward responsibility, ambition and diligence, and correct carelessness and ineptness. Such an orientation prepares youth for employment to a greater degree than do non-school experiences.<sup>37</sup>

Various data suggest that most apprentices finish high school.<sup>38</sup> This is not the case with Negroes. Nationally, fewer Negroes attend high school than whites. They evidence a higher dropout rate and a lower level of completion.<sup>39</sup> Those that do graduate have oftentimes



received an inferior education in *de facto* segregated school systems. Nor are they likely to have been motivated to work as hard while in school as white youth, this being carried over into the area of employment habits.<sup>40</sup> As a consequence, many Negroes are effectively eliminated from consideration for apprenticeship programs.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The number of responses exceeds the number of respondents because some advanced more than one answer.

<sup>2</sup> See Eli Ginzberg et al, *Occupational Choice: An Approach To A General Theory*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1951 and Blau et al, "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 9, No. 4, July 1956, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York for reviews of this literature.

<sup>3</sup> Ginzberg et al, *op. cit.* As stated by the authors:

... Occupational choice is a developmental process; it is not a single decision but a series of decisions. Each step in the process has a meaningful relation to those which precede and follow it . . . the process is largely irreversible. This is the result of the fact that each decision made during the process is dependent on the chronological age and development (of a person) . . . basic education and exposure can only be experienced once.

<sup>4</sup> Sol Swerdloff and Abraham Bluestone, "Backgrounds and Career Choice of Tool and Die Makers," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1, January 1953, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; pp. 8-11. The sample was composed of 1,712 tool and die makers of whom 1,287 could give definite reason for entering the trade. Of these, 681 stated that they became tool and die makers because they were mechanically inclined; 384 attributed the choice to the influence of family member and friends; the remainder either drifted into the occupation or were motivated by economic considerations.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph H. Schuster, "Career Patterns of Former Apprentices," *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1959, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Information is based on 3,728 usable, returned questionnaires; and Edward B. Van Dusen, *Apprenticeship in Western New York State*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Research Bulletin No. 2., June 1949, p. 37.

In Schuster and Van Dusen, apprentices list reasons for going into apprenticeship such as "employment," "security," "good wages," "like the trade," "possibility of starting own business," etc. Such answers are given after an apprenticeship has been undertaken and are usually rationalizations of, rather than the motivation for, such actions.

<sup>6</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union*, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1956, pp. 322-323.

<sup>7</sup> See Natalie Rogoff, *Recent Trends In Occupational Mobility*, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1953; p. 45. Of the sons of 2,729 skilled fathers, the greatest number, 880, became skilled workers. She relates this to the objective chances of obtaining skilled-craft as opposed to other employment. Also, Reinhard Bendix, Seymour M. Lipset and F. Theodore Malm, "Social Origins and Occupational Career Patterns," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, January 1954, pp. 247-261. The authors report that "The sons of fathers in the manual occupations . . . tend to work as manual workers . . . 213 out of 252 individuals having spent 68 percent of their careers in this manner;" Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 14, reports that 51.1 percent of the apprentice sample members had fathers in the same or another skilled trade. Cf. Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 44. See Tables 11 & 12, Appendix A.

<sup>8</sup> Peter M. Blau et al, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

<sup>9</sup> Eli Ginzberg, *The Negro Potential*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, p. 99.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>11</sup> Aaron Antonovsky and Lewis L. Lorwin, eds., *Discrimination and Low Incomes*, New York, 1959, pp. 131, 136; Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Cf., Rogoff, *op. cit.*, p. 65; and Irwin Sobel, Werner Z. Hirsch and Harry C. Harris, *The Negro in the St. Louis Economy*, Urban League of St. Louis, St. Louis, 1954, p. 67.

<sup>12</sup> The number of responses is more than the number of respondents because of multiple answers.

<sup>13</sup> These include 5 newspaper advertisements.

<sup>14</sup> The lack of union influence in the metal trades may be due to the fact that the majority of metal craft respondents either had no collective bargaining agreements with unions or dealt with "independent" unions.

<sup>15</sup> To avoid possible industrial relations conflicts, management in the printing trades will oftentimes forego its formal powers, acquiescing therein in informal union practices. Thus, the union choice of an apprentice may be accepted by management without reference to formal procedures.

<sup>16</sup> Apparently, many joint apprenticeship committees, according to a number of sample respondents, are organizations in name only. Oftentimes, management is not represented or, if so, the committee does not meet or act on any important matter. In lieu of such management participation, union representatives really control JAC's and tend to use them for union purposes.

<sup>17</sup> Union control in construction industry apprenticeship programs is spurred by the fact that unions are oftentimes the only stable structures in the industry. As powerful and continuing bodies, they are able to move apprentices between jobs, thereby providing them with the experience requisite to full craft status.

<sup>18</sup> This is due to the usual smallness of service firms and their non-unionization. Like most respondents, service units do not usually have formal personnel departments. Hence hiring is decentralized. This adds to the informal nature of the recruitment process.

Only one sample respondent was in transportation. Hence, the above generalization may be completely specious. Nonetheless, this respondent indicated a highly formal system of recruitment, qualified by union policies and practices.

<sup>19</sup> This, of course, is not universally true. Some respondents undoubtedly follow the letter of their formal recruitment system. Others explicitly stated that deviations from the norm would not be tolerated, especially in terms of selecting apprentices on the basis of cronyism and nepotism.

<sup>20</sup> Such intercession may consist only of advancing the name of an apprentice for consideration. On the other hand, it may result in the youth's name being placed at the top position of an apprentice roster, in contravention of seniority rules and procedures.

<sup>21</sup> These, of course, are not illegal and are similar to other employment situations.

<sup>22</sup> In 1952, the State Apprenticeship Council entered into a formal agreement with NYSES with respect to the recruitment and placement of apprentices. Thus, "Everytime the Council helps to negotiate an apprenticeship agreement between labor and management at a given plant or shop and a training program occurs . . . a form is sent to the local office of the Division of Employment notifying personnel there of the job opportunity."

The Syracuse office of SES reported that it had received only 8 requests for apprentices between 1956 and 1958. Most of these were for butcher apprentices. No request for graphic arts or building trades apprentices have ever been received by this unit.

<sup>23</sup> Table 3, in the other category. Since all of the respondents indicating this form of recruitment were in publishing, and apprentices are hired from those already employed by newspapers, the rationale underlying this practice is not clear.

<sup>24</sup> This occurred in connection with the announcement of a civil service examination for 4th class apprentices at the New York Naval Shipyard in Brooklyn. It was carried by a paper which has a commercial interest in the announcement of civil service exams.

<sup>25</sup> One notable exception is Harry Kursh, *Apprenticeship in America*, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1959.

<sup>26</sup> The State Apprenticeship Council has only one publication which can be used for mass distribution. The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship is somewhat better, but neither use other mass media to any great degree. See also Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> By "hiding" apprenticeship opportunities, labor protects its restrictions on the supply of skilled-craft labor and management is able to serve the considerations outlined in Section (3), Chapter Four.

<sup>28</sup> A number of printing respondents specifically stated that Negroes did not gain apprenticeship openings in that industry because management refused to hire Negroes in pre-apprenticeable occupations. See also the section on seniority in the previous chapter.

<sup>29</sup> Because of non-discriminatory policies and practices, Negroes tend to utilize the services of the NYSES to a greater degree than their numbers in the labor force warrants. This holds true for other non-commercial, non-discriminatory agencies, such as the Urban League, the Federation Employment Service and the Diocesan Employment Service.

<sup>30</sup> As stated by the National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 239:

Surveys of local labor markets have shown repeatedly that most workers have an extremely limited knowledge of the different jobs that are open and of the future prospects for training and promotion in different firms. Frequently, workers are unaware of the substantial differences in the wages paid for similar work in their own community. The worker who is looking for a job is not likely to know about more than two or three openings. Few new entrants in the labor market have specific occupational goals. Many accept the first job offered to them.

If this is true of most young workers looking for employment which is usually advertised, then it is certainly true of Negroes in a situation where few if any job announcements are made.

<sup>31</sup> Not only is information not generally provided but it is usually orientated towards white, rather than blue, collar occupations. An analysis of the 1958 issues of *Ebony* magazine showed that 72 occupations listed in the "Speaking of People" column, only six were in the skilled occupational grouping. None were in apprenticeship; the majority were professional occupations.

<sup>32</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241. Among relatively objective, that is measurable, standards are physical fitness, manual dexterity, aptitude, general intelligence, age, sex and scholastic achievement.

<sup>33</sup> Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> Arthur W. Motley, "Test Selection of Apprentices," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 76, No. 10. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., pp. 1068-1070. The author states that "Especially in the Milwaukee area, formal agreements with labor and management committees and employers provide for tests as a screening device in the selection of *all* (italics, mine) apprentice applicants." Also, that of 1,756 apprentices in Oregon, 70 percent were tested, counselled and referred by state employment service units. The same process is prevalent in Florida, Alabama and Minnesota.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1069. Turnover is as high as 50 percent in some apprenticeship programs.

<sup>36</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 and 154.

<sup>37</sup> National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 143; Van Dusen, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Swerdloff and Bluestone, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> In 1956, 89.1 percent of the white male population 14-17 years of age were enrolled in school. For similarly situated Negroes, 85.2 percent. For the 18-19 year group, the percentages were 43.9 and 32.9, respectively.

In 1950 in 27 vocational high schools in New York City, 65 percent of the Negroes who entered failed to graduate.

<sup>40</sup> Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.

## CHAPTER VI

### SPECIFIC BARRIERS

Assuming that employment opportunities are available in apprenticeship programs and are deemed attractive by Negro youth, the latter must still develop an interest in apprenticeship, make the correct preparatory decisions, find a specific job opening, and meet subjective and objective hiring standards to achieve a skilled-training opportunity. The same process holds true for white youth, but unlike Negro youth, they do not encounter the additional barrier of discrimination. This impediment specifically inhibits the entrance of Negro youth into apprenticeship programs and is an important casual factor in the constellation of factors which limit the number and proportion of Negroes in the skilled-craft segment of the labor force.<sup>1</sup>

Racial discrimination may be either overt or covert. It may flow from conscious or unconscious racial prejudice and may be manifested directly or indirectly by segments of labor, management, government and the general public. Whatever its form, it prevents Negroes from becoming apprentices and skilled craftsmen simply because they are Negroes.

#### *I. Management's Claim to Non-Discrimination*

Sample respondents were asked: *If a qualified Negro youth applied to your firm for an available apprenticeship opening, would he have the same chance to obtain it as an equally qualified white youth?* Only nine respondents indicated some resistance to the employment of Negroes. Two graphic arts respondents stated that Negroes would have a similar opportunity only if they were currently employed by them in pre-apprenticeable occupations. While this is in keeping with the recruitment process in printing, it must also be noted that neither of the firms employed Negroes in pre-apprenticeable occupations. Another printing respondent stated that he did not believe Negroes

would have an equal chance since "recommendations came from employed, relatives and friends," implying that Negroes had neither as a source of recommendation. Another printing respondent predicated an affirmative answer on the ability of a Negro youth "to get by the JAC . . . and if he was known in the shop."

One tool and die respondent would only say that he "guessed" a Negro would have an equal chance in his apprenticeship program. A second could not state that a Negro would be hired as an apprentice. Still another, apparently completely oblivious of the Law Against Discrimination, stated that a Negro would not be hired "since the owner preferred Germans for tool and die apprentices" and was actively engaged in recruiting German, as opposed to American nationals for such openings. Two other respondents were listed as being negative on the question because of active hostility to the survey and its implications.

The foregoing information indicates that most respondents express formal compliance with the Law Against Discrimination and claim that they would have little or no hesitation in hiring qualified Negroes as apprentices if they applied. For the most part, this is probably true. It would, however, be naive in the extreme to expect respondents who were discriminating to indicate that they engaged in such practices to members of a governmental agency seeking to prevent and eliminate discriminatory actions. Moreover, the employment patterns of some of the indenturing units, their previous complaint record with the State Commission Against Discrimination, and some of their verbal responses—which included some patent fabrications—would appear to indicate that some of the responses bore little or no resemblance to actual practice.

## II. *The Prejudiced Perceptions of Management*

Seven of the nine respondents indicating some form of resistance to the employment of Negroes as apprentices were from the management component of the sample indenturing units. As indicated by Table 1, four respondents listed the refusal of management to hire as the reason for the lack of Negro apprentices. Eight respondents in the same table expressed the opinion that Negroes were not employed in occupations from which apprentices are drawn, usually an area of management responsibility alone.

Where management refuses to hire Negroes as skilled craftsmen or apprentices, it is the result of a number of factors. High among these is the attitude of some segments of management in some firms regarding the capabilities of Negroes for, and their performance in,

skilled-craft occupations. In a study of the hiring policies, preferences and practices of management, Noland and Bakke found that: "... it just isn't customary to hire Negroes for skilled-craft jobs." This was the result of management's belief that Negroes had insufficient training, were not self-reliant, were careless in work habits and were not acceptable to co-workers.<sup>2</sup> Where such beliefs exist, it would be surprising if the invidious pre-judgment was not also applied specifically to potential Negro craftsmen, thereby excluding them from apprentice training programs. This is partially borne out by recent studies, both in New York State and nationally,<sup>3</sup> which tend to show that some firms believe that Negroes lack the desire, ambition or background to train for skilled-craft occupations. A number of sample respondents expressed a similar cluster of beliefs centering about the motivations and aptitudes of Negroes.

As indicated earlier, some individuals gain apprenticeships in some trades through promotions, on a seniority and qualification basis, from unskilled and semiskilled jobs. As also noted, some respondents attributed the lack of Negro apprentices to the lack of Negro employment in pre-apprenticeable occupations. In some cases, firms do not hire Negroes in these pre-apprenticeable occupations because of the belief:

... that Negroes are not as capable as whites for production jobs. Their intelligence is believed to be lower and their training less varied and adequate. Moreover, they are believed to learn slower. Additionally, Negroes are oftentimes characterized as being unreliable, irresponsible, lazy, overbearing, sensitive, unambitious, restless, and unperservering.<sup>4</sup> To the extent that segments of management in indenturing units act on such beliefs, Negroes will not be able to achieve the various employment opportunities which precede and lead to apprenticeship openings.

Another factor limiting the apprenticeship and skilled-craftsmanship opportunities of Negroes resides in the attitudes which have been evidenced by management with respect to the employment of Negroes in supervisory positions. In the New Haven-Charlotte analysis, it was the consensus of opinion that (1) Negroes were not competent to supervise; but (2) if they were, they would not fit in the work group; but (3) if they did fit in, customers and other firms would not take to the idea. Other studies tend to indicate that management is extremely cautious about upgrading Negroes to supervisory positions and does so only in the case of the superlatively gifted or demonstratively able Negro.<sup>5</sup>

Inasmuch as apprentices enter into a pattern of vertical occupational mobility, the foregoing has serious implications for Negroes. Studies of tool and die makers and of apprentices to all trades, show a high correlation between the successful completion of an apprenticeship and the achievement of supervisory rank.<sup>6</sup> Cognizant of this, segments of management not amenable to the concept of Negroes serving in the echelons of industrial command can effectively preclude this eventuality by denying the initial opportunity.

The beliefs of management mentioned above set definite limitations on the entrance chances of aspiring Negro artisans. Since they constitute gross, irrational and invidious pre-judgments about a group, they may be construed as expressions of racial prejudice and, if acted upon, constitute racial discrimination.<sup>7</sup> From the present survey, there is no way of ascertaining the extent to which these beliefs are held by the management indenturing units in the sample.

### III. *Policy Untranslated Into Practice*

Certain management policies and practices may have the effect of discriminating against Negroes even though such an intent is not present. This flows from management's failure to implement commitments to merit employment. No matter what the reason for the decision to hire Negroes,<sup>8</sup> such a policy will be frustrated unless it is spelled out fully and programs are initiated for its fulfillment. This is borne out by Commission experience,<sup>9</sup> a recent study in the San Francisco Bay Area,<sup>10</sup> and an unpublished national study.<sup>11</sup> The evidence indicates that an intensive, special initial effort must be undertaken to recruit Negroes for some occupations in some industries. This is especially true of those industries and occupations where there has been a historical tradition of the denial of employment opportunities to Negroes. Apprenticeship-skilled craftsmanship is a prime example of such a tradition and the lack of Negro artisans can only be overcome through express programming. In brief, good intentions alone cannot lead to industrial, racial integration. To the extent that sample respondents are not committed to policies of fair employment or, if committed, have not translated them into practice, the apprentice, skilled-craft opportunities of Negroes are diminished.

### IV. *Anticipated Employee Objections*

"Indirect" discrimination by management also occurs when firms are reluctant to introduce Negroes into apprenticeship programs or skilled occupations because of anticipated resistance to the move on

the part of their employees. This is especially true when it is feared that the resistance will be organized and expressed by craft unions.<sup>12</sup> Management may also be directly guilty of discriminatory practices if it acquiesces in such actions by craft unions. In these situations, an "unsure" management tends to perpetuate traditional patterns of occupational discrimination through its refusal to resist unlawful expressions of racial prejudice by employees and their organizations. Apathy and fear may then be considered as barriers to equal opportunity in skilled-training programs almost coeval with active expressions of racial prejudice.

None of the foregoing should be construed as being representative of the vast majority of major indenturing firms in New York State. The absence of Negroes in large numbers in some skilled training programs may be largely fortuitous. In other cases, it is probably correct that Negroes do not apply for openings. In still others, Negroes have probably been correctly rejected because of their possession of objectionable personal attributes and undesirable job qualifications. Nonetheless, segments of management, including some firms in registered apprenticeship programs, continue to manifest racial discrimination in their employment patterns.

#### *V. Discrimination by Unions*

Craft unions also limit or prevent the entrance of Negroes into apprenticeship-skilled craftsmanship through discriminatory policies and practices. This was noted by a number of respondents, as shown in Table 1, who attributed the lack of Negro apprentices to craft union practices. It may also be evidenced by the lack of Negroes in some of the apprenticeship programs controlled by unions.<sup>13</sup> Less evident but equally serious is the limitation placed on potential Negro apprentices by craft unions through their direct or indirect control over information about specific apprenticeship openings, as well as the important role they play in evoking an original interest in apprenticeship.<sup>14</sup>

By denying to Negroes the opportunity of training for skilled-craft occupations, some craft unions effectively preclude them from obtaining the primary prerequisite of union membership, that of occupation. This denial of membership is sometimes rationalized in terms of the failure of Negroes to apply for such membership. In such cases apprenticeship must be viewed as providing an opportunity for unions to exercise racially exclusive policies.

The reasons for such racially exclusive policies are fairly evident. Those discussed by Northrup appear to have some relevance at this



time in New York State.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, one or two of the considerations that affect management decisions in this area are operative for unions.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, there is the historical tradition of racial exclusion. As late as 1948, ten international unions in New York State excluded or limited Negroes from membership, through one device or another.<sup>17</sup> Of these, sample data show that the blacksmith, machinists and sheet metal workers do not currently indenture Negro apprentices in registered programs over which they have substantial control. Also, Northrup reports that, during the forties, Negroes were excluded from, or the entrance was limited by, the following craft unions: plumbers, electrical workers, steamfitters, glass workers, and carpenters, among others.<sup>18</sup> All of these unions were covered in the present analysis. With the possible exception of a New York local of the electrical workers, no gains or none of significance have been made by Negroes in the apprenticeship programs conducted or effectively controlled by these unions. The survey data also indicate that the standing of Negro craftsmen in these unions follows the same pattern.

All of the above unions operate under the New York State Law Against Discrimination. In 1948 they were expressly enjoined from maintaining and/or executing constitutional or bylaw provisions which excluded Negroes.<sup>19</sup> Supposedly, each of the unions is now in compliance with the Law Against Discrimination. The lack of Negro apprentices may then, hopefully, be attributed in large measure to other factors, such as failure to communicate and effectuate merit membership policies, rather than to discrimination.<sup>20</sup> It may also be that locals of the internationals are frustrating the latter's commitments to fair membership practices.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, it is possible that a decade is not a sufficient period of time to bring about a full realization of the letter and spirit of the New York State Law Against Discrimination. On the other hand, the absence of Negroes in specific unions may be attributed directly to overt discriminatory policies and practices.

This latter consideration appears to be the case with some, if not all, of the locals of the International Union of Ornamental and Structural Iron Workers, who in one area of the state have expressly stated that they will not accept Negroes as members except on a segregated basis.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, also, the Carpenters are continuing their historical practices of assigning most Negro carpenters to a segregated unit in Harlem. Moreover, it seems that the Carpenters in New York City and elsewhere in the state are not offering apprenticeships to Negroes, figures to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>23</sup>

Information coming to the Commission also suggests that the Sheet Metal Workers, along with a number of building trades unions in upstate New York, are not particularly amenable to the entrance of Negroes into apprentice, skilled-craft occupations and, thus, membership.<sup>24</sup> The Bricklayers throughout the state are a recent and notable exception to this pattern.<sup>25</sup>

The pattern in the printing trades is mixed. During the course of the study one major printing union asked the Commission to "require it to indenture Negroes, thereby overcoming what was said to be the opposition to Negroes on the part of management and union members." On the other hand, a respondent reported that a printing union in the Albany region refused to accept a Negro as a journeyman member after he had successfully completed his apprenticeship. In general, it appears that the printing unions have not exerted any, or much, of their considerable powers to prod management into hiring Negroes in those occupations from which graphic arts apprentices are drawn.

Various unions associated with apprenticeship in the railroad industry do not have Negroes as apprentices. This is due in part to the seniority system which obtains in the industry, coupled with a declining labor force. On the other hand, there is no substantial evidence that any of the railroad craft unions, or railroad management, have taken any positive steps on their own initiative to open employment opportunities for Negro apprentices, thereby reversing what has probably been the most adamantly racially exclusive policy of any segment of industry in the nation.

## VI. *The Consequences of Internal Union Structure*

The lack of Negro apprentices and members is attributable, in part, to the nature of the internal union political structure and process. Unlike management, unions are, in theory, democratic organizations. Ultimate authority, exercised or not, resides in the membership. Union officials must take some cognizance, direct or indirect, of the prevailing opinion of the membership, at the pain of possible membership reprisals. Leadership tenure may be promoted or inhibited through the allocation of various privileges by union officials, one of which is apprenticeship. Apprenticeship, in this connection, represents a device whereby union leaders may sustain or increase their power position by granting or withholding apprentice openings.

In cases where Negroes constitute an important political segment of the membership of a union, apprenticeships are frequently granted to the group almost as a matter of course. Where they are not, there

is no particular effort to facilitate the entrance of Negroes into apprenticeship. This is due to the fact that no positive, internal benefits would accrue to the leadership and, perhaps, harmful political results would ensue from the "replacement" of a white by a Negro apprentice. As a consequence, the historical pattern of initial exclusion is perpetuated in some craft unions.

Another reason for the exclusion of Negroes is the "age" lag. Many craft union leaders, as well as substantial segments of the membership, reached their maturity at a time when Negroes were not even thought to desire, much less to be able to fill, various skilled-craft occupations. Some of these older leaders and their contemporary followers reflect this background in their current approaches to the aspirations of potential and actual Negro craftsmen. In the long run, attrition factors will tend to diminish the significance of this segment of labor. As in all matters of racial discrimination, however, the older generation infects the younger with prejudgments about minority group members. Moreover, the younger generation, actuated by differing socio-psychological needs, may arrive at similar prejudgments quite independently. Whatever the casual factors, some union members partake of various aspects of the prevailing minority group prejudice extant in the American culture. This poses a special problem for that portion of union leadership which seeks to erase discriminatory policies and practices. At times, the advocacy of apprenticeships for Negroes may be far in advance of the willingness of the rank-and-file to accept Negroes. As a consequence, union leaders, recognizing the threat to their positions, eschew the goal of Negro apprenticeship membership.

The foregoing must also be qualified. In recent years some craft unions have exhibited an almost complete reversal of their previous racial policies and practices. Others offer equal access to Negroes for apprenticeship openings as a matter of course. Still others are frustrated in their membership policies and practices by management or forces over which they have little or no control. With the exception of this last situation, these trends tend to counteract those discussed earlier and in these cases young nonwhites are provided with apprenticeship opportunities which eventuate in membership in craft unions.

## VII. *The Role of the New York State Apprenticeship Council*

While neither government nor the community play a direct role in the actual indenturing of youth, they do structure the context within which apprenticeship has its existence. Accordingly, govern-

ment and the community are partially involved in, and responsible for, some of the factors which affect the entrance of minority youth into apprenticeship programs. This is especially true of the State Apprenticeship Council, various Negro interest groups, and the State Commission Against Discrimination.

Historically and currently, the Apprenticeship Council has tended to shy away from the problem of expanding the supply of minority group apprentices. In 1946, the Apprenticeship Council rejected an amendment to its Standards for Apprentices in the form of a statement designed to bring attention to the statute prohibiting discrimination in employment. The Council argued that there was no statutory authority requiring such a statement and that it did not want to become involved in the enforcement of any law other than its own. Early in 1949, the Director of the Apprenticeship Council rejected a similar amendment on the grounds that all apprenticeship agreements are voluntary and that the Council wanted to promote apprenticeship, not raise any additional barriers to its growth. Nevertheless, the Governor recommended such legislation in 1949, which failed of enactment.

In the same year, the Council offered a counter-amendment to the Standards which stated that "No section of these standards shall be construed as permitting the violation of any law or regulation of the State of New York or of the United States." The Commission Against Discrimination held that the phraseology was too general and the Council countered that anything more specific would raise a barrier to its primary mission—the promotion of apprenticeship. On the basis of an offer of a liaison arrangement between the Council and the Commission, the latter withdrew its proposed amendment to Section 21 of the Standards for Apprentices.

The liaison arrangement appears to have been inconclusive. A number of meetings were held between sub-committees of the Council and the Commission. At one such meeting, the Commission requested a survey of the number of Negro apprentices in Council registered programs. The Council insisted that on-the-spot inspection was impossible and that it was undesirable to ask indenturing employers for such information. On its own motion, the Commission attempted to gain such information by sending questionnaires to 72 joint apprenticeship committees, each of which indentured 25 or more apprentices. Fifty-seven of the units did not respond.

By 1954, the Commission liaison officer reported that the cooperative arrangement was dormant. During the year, however, the Council agreed not to approve an apprenticeship program if the

employer, or his agent, stated that he would not employ a Negro as an apprentice. On the other hand, the Council indicated it would approve such a program if the employer, or his agent, withdrew the statement. However, the actual situation in any given instance was not considered by the Council.

During this period the Commission, in association with the members of the Eastern State Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination, sought to call the attention of its counterpart, the Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference, to the problem of the limited number of Negro apprentices. In 1949 a representative of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination appeared at the regional apprenticeship conference and made a brief statement. In the following year, an effort to gain a place on the program was rejected because of a "late application." In 1951, the conference explicitly rejected Commission representation on the grounds that it ". . . does not intend to embrace subjects which are not pertinent to technical phases of the apprenticeship training program."

In 1954, the New York State Apprenticeship Council declared that it knew of no discrimination in registered apprenticeship programs but, if there was any, it would take steps to eliminate such discrimination and would receive and use any information to this end.

Subsequent dealings between the Commission and Council appear to have been ineffective until January 1957, at which time the previously proposed amendment was jointly sponsored by the State Department of Labor and the State Commission Against Discrimination. The proposal was enacted by the Legislature at its 1957 session and became law with the approval of the Governor on April 18, 1957, as Chapter 697 of the Laws of 1957, taking immediate effect.

The Law amends section 814 of the Labor Law by adding a new subdivision, which reads:

5. A statement that apprentices shall be hired without any direct or indirect limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.

Upon approving the bill, the Governor commented:

This bill amends Article 23 of the Labor Law, entitled "Apprenticeship Council" and more particularly, section 814 thereof, entitled "Suggested Standards for Apprenticeship Agreements." In its existing form, Article 23 contains no reference to compliance with the public policy of the State, to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Under the provisions of Article 23, standards for apprenticeship agreements are devised by joint apprenticeship committees subject to the review of the Apprenticeship Council and in accordance with the standards established by the Council.

It is my judgement that an effective program to eliminate unlawful discrimination in employment requires not only that properly qualified persons be assured equality of opportunity in employment without reference to race, creed, color or national origin but that all persons be similarly afforded an opportunity to become qualified.

Not uncommonly, we have been faced with the assertion that an apparently discriminatory employment policy and pattern is no more than the reflection of the non-existence of qualified persons of the particular race, creed, color or national origin concerning whom discrimination is charged.

It is believed that the proposed amendment would have the following effects:

(1) It would have substantial educational value in calling the existence of the Law Against Discrimination to the attention of employers and employee organizations participating in the apprenticeship program.

(2) It would serve as a reassurance of individuals seeking to become apprentices that New York State is carrying out in this field, its expressed policy to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin; and it would serve to negate, in part, an existing belief held by a substantial number of persons that there is widespread discrimination in hiring apprentices.

The survey which culminated in the present report served as the next major occasion for dealings between the Commission and the Council. At its inception, personnel of the Commission were afforded the opportunity to witness and participate in a regional training program of the Apprenticeship Council. During the formative stages of the project, personnel of the Council cooperated actively and freely with representatives of the Commission and provided valuable insights into the scope, structure and process of apprenticeship in New York State. Additionally, personnel of the Division of Research and Statistics of the New York State Department of Labor provided the Commission with raw data from which the sample was drawn. Personnel of the Council also provided the Commission with the names and addresses of key officials of specific sample respondents.

On the other hand, officials of the Apprenticeship Council and the State Department of Labor explicitly forbade their personnel to answer an interview schedule addressed to them, would not allow field representatives of the Council to supply the names and addresses of Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices (this information to be used in connection with a "success model" analysis) and explicitly disassociated the Council from the study, its procedures, content, findings and recommendations. Underlying this position was a reiteration of the argument that, by raising the issue of minority apprenticeship, industry and labor might withdraw from, or not join in, apprenticeship programs registered with the Council.

In view of the foregoing, it is clear that in the past the Apprenticeship Council has not been oriented toward the problem of promoting the entrance of Negro youth into apprenticeship. This conclusion does not derive from a failure of the Council to act in an area outside of its jurisdiction but is based rather on the proposition that, through general inaction, it has not set the standards or established the context within which the promotion of apprenticeship for Negroes could be achieved with greater facility.<sup>26</sup>

#### VIII. *The Role of Community Groups*

Beyond of the aforementioned educational-liaison attempts of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, research projects carried out by agencies in Connecticut, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania, and efforts to participate in regional apprenticeship meetings, it does not appear that any sustained and concerted effort vis-a-vis apprenticeship has been undertaken by the thirteen states which have fair employment practices measures. The same appears to hold true for the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Such inaction is understandable, in part, in terms of the almost chronic lack of resources provided for these agencies and the press of other and equally important projects aimed at eliminating other discriminatory practices.

Coeval with the relative inaction of governmental agencies has been an apparent sense of apathy on the part of the minority group community. With one exception, no Negro group in New York State has raised the apprenticeship issue with the Commission Against Discrimination. Indeed, it appears that the efforts of these groups are aimed primarily at eliminating discriminatory employment policies and practices in white-collar occupations. While the need for such programs cannot be denied, it is none the less true that there is

need for programs which concentrate on highly skilled, blue-collar jobs. Such a change in orientation would tend to broaden the base of the attack on discriminatory practices, thereby expanding total occupational opportunities for the minority group community. Concentration on the skilled segment of the labor force could come, for example, at the expense of programs which seek to eliminate racial discrimination in longshore, brewing and entertainment industries, or in industries which either provide only unskilled or semiskilled jobs, or are declining, or have unusually high proportions of minority group members.

#### IX. *The Role of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination*

In brief, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is empowered to eliminate and prevent discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin in employment, places of public accommodation, resort or amusement and in public and publicly-assisted housing. The primary procedure to attain these ends lies through the filing, by an aggrieved person, of a complaint alleging a discriminatory practice by a respondent engaged in the above fields. The Commission, through various procedures, investigates such allegations and, if they are found to have validity, seeks to eliminate the policy, practice or pattern by conference, conciliation and persuasion. Failure to correct the discriminatory act may lead to a public hearing, the issuance of cease and desist orders, or actions in contempt proceedings before the New York State Supreme Court. Various actions of the Commission are reviewable by the State and Federal judiciary. Additionally, the Commission utilizes its educational, research and public relations powers to effectuate the purposes of the Law.

Given such powers, which have been exercised for fifteen years, the question arises as to why the conditions described in this study are still extant. One answer to such a query is that the Commission is a creature of its organic statute—one which maximizes the role of individual complaint proceedings as the instrument to achieve the anti-discriminatory goals of the people of the State of New York. The Commission, from one view, cannot eliminate and prevent discrimination in apprenticeship save on the complaints of those who are denied apprenticeships because of race, creed, color or national origin and after a finding of fact to credit such an allegation. Leaving aside the important question of proving discrimination, it still holds



that the Commission cannot adjust a specific discriminatory act, or rectify a general discriminatory pattern, unless an aggrieved person complains of such an act.

The evidence on this point is clear: few have complained about apprenticeship in the Commission's history. Out of more than 6500 complaints in fifteen years, only a minute fraction have raised the issue of discrimination in apprenticeship, either directly or indirectly. The same general situation obtains for skilled-craft positions. Less than 10 percent of the employment complaints received by the Commission over the years have concerned skilled-craft jobs.

It is not surprising that so few apprenticeship cases come to the attention of the Commission. Considering the fact that, for one reason or another, Negroes do not apply for apprenticeships, it is not likely that they will actively complain about not receiving them. It is also likely that younger people simply do not know that they have the right to file a complaint with the Commission. Moreover, the potential complainant faces a combination of union, management and governmental hierarchies which is undeniably awesome and discouraging. While complaint proceedings represent one valid and useful approach to the issue of discrimination in the apprenticeship field, fundamental and widespread rectification of the conditions described in this report will depend ultimately upon a consensus among management, labor, and government that such changes are necessary and desirable. To this end, the present study is dedicated.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Some sample respondents indicated some resistance to the employment of individuals of Italian, Puerto Rican and American Indian national origin, and of the Jewish creed, in some apprenticeship programs.
- <sup>2</sup> E. William Noland and E. Wight Bakke, *Workers Wanted: A Study of Employer Hiring Policies, Preferences and Practices*, Harper Brothers, New York, 1949, p. 59.
- <sup>3</sup> Bernard Rosenberg and Penney Chapin, "Management and Minority Groups: A Study of Attitudes and Practices in Hiring and Upgrading," in Antonovsky and Lorwin, eds., *Discrimination and Low Incomes*, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 1959, pp. 147-193.
- <sup>4</sup> Noland and Bakke, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82 and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- <sup>6</sup> Swerdloff, Sol and Bluestone, Abraham, "Backgrounds and Career Choice of Tool and Die Makers," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1, January 1953, p. 10. and Schuster, Joseph H., "Career Patterns of Former Apprentices," *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1959, pp. 16-18.
- <sup>7</sup> Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, 1958, *passim*.
- <sup>8</sup> These include such reasons as labor supply, legal obligation, realistic personnel administration, principle, customer relations, public relations, and special appeals by pressure groups.

- The Commission commonly requires respondents to issue directives to all personnel concerning the firm's non-discriminatory practices and policies and to utilize sources of recruitment having a racially representative clientele.
- <sup>10</sup> U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Minority Worker Hiring and Referral in San Francisco," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 81, No. 10, October 1958, p. 1133.
- <sup>11</sup> This study was conducted by Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. of New York.
- <sup>12</sup> National Planning Association, *Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South*; Case Study No. 1. John Hope II, "Negro Employment in 3 Southern Plants of International Harvester Company," National Publishing Company, Washington, February 1955, pp. 25, 64.
- <sup>13</sup> The building trades tend to be a general exception.
- <sup>14</sup> Relatives, friends and neighbors of the white apprentice are usually active union members, and receive information about openings from union sources.
- <sup>15</sup> Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944, p. 232. He lists (1) a given industrial environment; (2) union ideology; (3) supply and demand for labor; (4) national union controls over locals; and (5) the racial policies of rival unions as factors preventing Negroes from obtaining full membership rights.
- <sup>16</sup> See footnote 8, this chapter. Unions may have more opportunity to discriminate to the extent that they are not committed to racial integration on the basis of principle, customer relations, public relations, special appeals or because of labor supply.
- <sup>17</sup> Monroe Berger, *Equality By Statute, Legal Control Over Group Discrimination*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, p. 144.
- <sup>18</sup> Northrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-5.
- <sup>19</sup> Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
- <sup>20</sup> Cf., U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Minority Worker Hiring and Referral in San Francisco," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 81, No. 10, October 1958, p. 1134.
- <sup>21</sup> This appears to be particularly true with respect to the International Association of Machinists and, possibly, the Plumbers.
- <sup>22</sup> Confidential Commission information.
- <sup>23</sup> In response to sample queries, a high official of the Carpenters stated "that one of the locals is composed entirely of Negro members, so the question of discrimination in the union could be immediately *discounted*." (italics supplied) Another officer expressed the opinion that the survey was a dodge to *unearth* discriminatory practices.
- <sup>24</sup> Based on confidential Commission information.
- <sup>25</sup> A policy of equality of membership, including apprenticeships, was strongly enunciated by the Bricklayers in May, 1959.
- <sup>26</sup> This stricture must be modified in the light of events which have occurred subsequent to the completion of this report. Under the leadership of a newly-appointed State Industrial Commissioner, the Hon. Martin P. Catherwood, the Apprenticeship Council has inaugurated a reappraisal of former policy and has joined with the State Commission Against Discrimination in cooperative liaison arrangements designed to deal directly with many of the problems raised in the present report.

## **S U M M A R Y**

## SUMMARY

Based on the data and information developed in this study of the formal apprenticeship system in New York State, the following generalizations can be made:

1. New York State will be faced with a significant manpower shortage in some skilled trades within some of the skilled-craft occupations over the next years. This has been caused by a number of factors including the skewing of the age distribution of the population, the lack of immigration, economic and population growth, and attrition occurring among segments of the skilled labor force.

To meet this impending skilled manpower shortage, industry in the state will have to more effectively utilize younger and older male and female workers, who should be trained in apprenticeship programs if the manpower problems posed by an advancing technology and the national interest are to be resolved effectively and comprehensively.

2. Apprenticeship training is not currently meeting either the state's or the nation's skilled manpower requirements. Except for the brief period immediately following World War II, apprenticeship has been a marginal mode of skilled-craft preparation in the United States, especially since the advent of the industrial revolution. This is in contrast to its pre-Civil War position in the United States and its status in Western Europe during the medieval period. In both instances, apprenticeship was almost the sole mode of skilled-craft training for the vast majority of trades. During this time, it also served to fix socio-economic and political status, regulate competition, guarantee quality of product over generations, and militate against the deleterious competition of cheap child labor.

3. The downgrading of apprenticeship in the United States was primarily the result of changes in the deployment of the labor force which accompanied the industrial revolution, along with attendant changes in attitudes towards apprenticeship and skilled craftsmanship. On the other hand, a re-evaluation of apprenticeship was spurred by the decline of immigration during and after World War I. Segments of labor, management and government at that time sought to resuscitate the system. In New York State, this culminated in the creation of a comprehensive system of apprenticeship training.

Currently, the aspiring artisan receives services from a number of governmental units and moves through a process directed by labor and management which insures his development into a well-rounded and genuinely-skilled craftsman. Nonetheless, the system trains only a small proportion of the craftsmen needed each year in the state.

4. Because of the level of development of the economies of the west coast of Africa, Negroes suffered an initial disadvantage in skilled-craft training and experience during the period of their introduction to the United States. With some exceptions, this pattern of Negro skilled-craft occupational deprivation was sustained and compounded prior to the Civil War, both in the South and North. Some alleviation did occur, however, in large plantations, urban centers and the upper South, especially in the building trades.

After emancipation, a color bar was specifically erected for most skilled jobs and Negroes were effectively prevented from participating in apprenticeship programs. The barriers were usually imposed by trade unions on the basis of the fear of competition between white and Negro craftsmen. This held in both the South and North and was not substantially modified until World War II. Manpower shortages at that time opened up skilled job opportunities for Negro craftsmen, but their training was, again, generally outside of apprenticeship programs.

5. Currently, less than two percent of the apprentices in major apprenticeship programs in New York State are Negro. The data also reveal that Negroes participate very little, if at all, in apprenticeship programs in upstate New York nor are they indentured in the metal crafts or printing trades in New York City. The building trades offer to a relatively few Negroes apprenticeship opportunities in a few trades in New York City, though not in its immediate environs.

The lack of Negro apprentices is particularly pronounced in those trades—plumbing, ornamental and structural iron working, sheet metal working, tool and die making, steamfitting, and the transportation and graphic arts trades—from which they have been traditionally excluded. The present status of Negroes in apprenticeship programs cannot, however, be attributed solely to the factor of historical exclusion but is a function of a number of barriers, some of which are not directly based on racial discrimination.

6. The barriers which presently inhibit the participation by Negroes in apprenticeship programs in New York State include:

*General* ones which either limit the number of available ap-

prenticeship openings or make apprenticeship, skilled-craftsmanship relatively unattractive.

*Intermediate* ones which limit the ability of Negroes to become interested in and to train for apprenticeship, to learn about and achieve specific apprenticeship openings, and to meet criteria established for the employment of apprentices.

*Specific* ones which prevent Negroes from becoming apprentices because they are Negroes. Whether direct or not, these barriers constitute actual expressions of racial discrimination and are engaged in by segments of labor, management, government and by the minority and majority community.

7. In each of these clusters are a number of factors which appear to have a special inhibiting effect on potential Negro apprentices. Thus, Negroes do not achieve apprenticeship because:

(1) There are very few, usually less than 5,000, openings in registered apprenticeship programs each year in New York State, most of which are intensely competed for by an overabundant supply of white youth.

(2) They do not have the economic resources with which to support themselves during the lengthy period of time required for the completion of many of the traditionally and relatively low-paid apprenticeship programs.

(3) There is both an absolute and relative lack of skilled Negro role models, after whom young Negroes may pattern themselves and thus develop an interest in and make decisions oriented toward entering apprenticeship.

(4) They are unable to learn about specific apprenticeship openings since this information is wrapped in an aura of mystery and is made available, usually, only to youths who have relatives or friends in a trade, which Negroes characteristically do not have.

(5) There is generally speaking, a reluctance on the part of management to hire Negro apprentices based on the belief that Negroes have undesirable personal characteristics and are unacceptable to white workers.

(6) They play no important intra-union political role, which militates against the granting of apprenticeships, these oftentimes being the expression of an intra-union patronage system.

8. Other inhibiting factors are detailed in the body of the analysis. In conjunction with those mentioned above, they have the cumulative effect of continuing the pattern, both in New York State and else-

where in the nation, of virtually excluding Negroes from apprenticeship programs and thereby from skilled-craft employment.

This pattern of skilled-craft exclusion denies to Negroes occupations which are sheltered to a greater degree than less skilled ones from unemployment, provide substantial economic rewards, and allow the incumbent to engage in satisfying work. This is an important factor contributing to the subordinate economic position of the Negro. In turn, personal and social disorganization in the Negro community entails increased economic, social and psychological costs for the general community.

Unless direct and effective remedial action is undertaken, the pattern of Negro skilled-craft occupational deprivation will continue its present course with no foreseeable modification. Resolution of the problems in New York State which both bear upon and grow out of contemporary apprenticeship programs requires the cooperation of all concerned governmental agencies with the State Commission Against Discrimination and the concerted action of all parties immediately involved in this important aspect of our state and national economy.

## **APPENDIXES**

**APPENDIX A. Tables and Lists**

**APPENDIX B. Methodology of the Study**

**APPENDIX C. Selected Bibliography**



## APPENDIX A

### TABLES AND LISTS

**Table 1**

*Employed Males in New York State by Color, by Occupation, 1950\**

Occupations	Total Employed	Employed Nonwhites	Nonwhites as a Percentage of Total
Total .....	4,098,240	223,575	5.4
Professional .....	399,605	7,616	1.9
Farm Managers and Farmers.	94,157	321	0.3
Managers .....	571,914	11,779	2.1
Clerical .....	385,076	21,466	5.6
Sales .....	316,604	5,074	1.6
Craftsmen .....	781,982	23,033	2.9
Operatives .....	808,095	57,283	7.1
Domestics .....	9,126	3,635	39.8
Service .....	369,090	54,313	14.7
Farm Laborers .....	56,495	1,641	2.9
Laborers .....	261,868	33,693	12.8
Others .....	44,228	3,721	8.4

\* U. S. Census of Population, Vol. II, P-C32, *New York*, Table 76, p. 309.

**Table 2**

*Employed Males in Skilled-Craft Occupations, by Color, New York State, 1950\**

	Total Employ- ment	Percentage Distri- bution	Nonwhite Employ- ment	Percentage Distri- bution
Male employed .....	781,982	100.0	23,033	100.0
Bakers .....	19,202	2.4	901	3.9
Blacksmiths, forgemen and ham- mermen .....	3,342	0.4	69	0.2
Boilermakers .....	2,513	0.3	48	0.2
Cabinetmakers and patternmakers	11,060	1.4	322	1.3
Carpenters .....	64,624	8.2	1,445	6.2
Compositors and Typesetters....	28,381	3.6	643	2.7
Cranemen, hoistmen and con- struction machinery operators.	11,924	1.5	381	1.6
Electricians .....	32,167	4.1	550	2.3
Foremen (N.E.C.) .....	74,842	9.5	1,181	5.1
Linemen and servicemen.....	22,629	2.8	136	6.5
Locomotive Engineers .....	4,958	0.6	37	0.1
Locomotive firemen .....	3,405	0.4	48	0.2
Machinists and Job setters.....	58,378	7.4	1,094	4.7

	Total Employ- ment	Percentage Distri- bution	Nonwhite Employ- ment	Percentage Distri- bution
Masons, tile setters and stone cutters .....	19,403	2.4	749	3.2
Mechanics and repairmen, air- plane .....	6,949	0.8	105	0.4
Mechanics and repairmen, auto- mobile .....	53,405	6.8	3,956	17.1
Mechanics and repairmen, tele- vision and radio .....	12,180	1.5	705	3.0
Other mechanics and repairmen and loom fixers .....	101,149	12.9	3,022	13.1
Millwrights .....	4,340	0.5	43	0.1
Molders, metal .....	4,480	0.5	619	2.6
Painters, paperhangers and gla- ziers .....	43,146	5.5	1,991	8.6
Plasterers and cement finishers..	7,060	0.9	356	1.5
Plumbers and pipefitters.....	31,157	3.9	413	1.7
Printing craftsmen .....	14,729	1.8	183	0.7
Shoemakers and repairers.....	7,661	0.9	336	1.4
Stationary engineers .....	21,428	2.7	351	1.5
Structural metal workers.....	5,504	0.7	249	1.0
Tailors and furriers.....	23,578	3.0	1,277	5.5
Tinsmiths, coppersmiths and sheetmetal workers .....	12,204	1.5	144	0.6
Toolmakers and die makers and setters .....	16,244	2.0	101	0.4
Other craftsmen and kindred workers .....	59,950	7.6	1,578	6.8

\* U. S. Census of Population, Vol. II, P-C32, New York, Table 77, p. 326.

**Table 3**

*Negro Apprentices to the Building Trades, U. S., 1910-20\**

Trade	—Year—		Change, 1910-20	
	1910	1920	Number	Percent
Blacksmiths .....	178	161	— 17	— 9.5
Boilermakers .....	—	22	+ 22	—
Cabinetmakers .....	—	19	+ 19	—
Carpenters .....	225	198	— 57	— 22.3
Coopers .....	—	61	+ 61	—
Electricians .....	8	69	+ 61	+762.5
Machinists .....	—	284	+284	—
Masons .....	171	127	— 44	— 25.7
Painters, glazers and varnishers	68	80	+ 12	+ 17.6
Paperhangers .....	15	9	— 6	— 40
Plumbers .....	71	83	+ 12	+ 16.9
Roofers and slaters.....	6	20	+ 14	+233.3
Tinsmiths and coppersmiths....	—	52	+ 52	—

\* Greene, Lorenzo J. and Woodson, Carter G., *The Negro Wage Earner*, The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., Washington, 1930, p. 324.

**Table 4**

*Occupational Distribution of Males 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations, by Race, New York State, 1900\**

Mfrg. & mechl. pursuits	All employed	Whites	Negroes	Negro percent of all employed	White distrib. (percent)	Negro distrib. (percent)
Total .....	450,467	449,182	1,219	.27	100.0	100.0
Bakers .....	16,600	16,564	35	.21	3.68	2.90
Blacksmiths .....	22,368	22,306	59	.26	4.96	4.84
Bookbinders .....	4,346	4,340	6	.14	.96	.49
Boot and Shoemakers and repairers.....	23,374	23,339	35	.15	5.19	2.87
Cabinetmakers .....	6,289	6,278	11	.17	1.39	.90
Carpenters and joiners.....	72,126	71,956	136	.19	16.01	11.20
Copper Workers .....	822	821	1	.12	.18	.08
Engravers .....	2,786	2,784	2	.07	.61	.16
Machinists .....	40,699	40,636	61	.15	9.04	5.0
Marble and Stone Cutters .....	9,618	9,588	30	.31	2.13	2.46
Masons (brick and stone).....	25,234	25,016	212	.84	5.56	17.39
Model and Patternmakers.....	2,088	2,088	—	—	.46	—
Painters, Glaziers and varnishers.....	48,608	48,385	219	.45	10.77	17.97
Paperhangers .....	2,361	2,328	32	1.36	.51	2.67
Plasterers .....	4,629	4,572	57	1.23	1.01	4.68
Plumbers and Gas and Steam Fitters.....	24,084	24,037	47	.2	5.35	3.86
Printers, Lithographers and Pressmen.....	29,724	29,652	72	.24	6.60	5.91
Steam Boiler makers .....	4,477	4,475	1	.02	.99	.08
Tailors .....	65,180	65,082	84	.13	14.48	6.89
Tinplate and Tinware makers.....	10,596	10,573	23	.22	2.35	1.89
Tool and Cutlery makers .....	3,206	3,198	8	.25	.71	.66
Iron and Steel Workers.....	31,252	31,164	88	.28	6.93	7.22

\* U. S. Census Office, 12th Census, 1900, Special Reports, *Occupations*, SDG, p. 348.

Table 5

*Occupational Distribution of Males 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations, by Race, New York State, 1910\**

Mfg. & mechl. industries	All employed	Whites	Negroes	Negro % of all employed	White distrib. (percent)	Negro distrib. (percent)
Total .....	542,851	540,190	2,544	.46	100.0	100.0
Bakers .....	18,370	18,318	47	.26	3.39	1.85
Blacksmiths .....	21,473	21,385	77	.36	3.95	3.03
Boilermakers .....	4,964	4,948	16	.32	.91	.63
Brick and stone masons .....	28,300	28,026	264	.93	5.18	10.38
Cabinetmakers .....	6,672	6,659	13	.19	1.23	.51
Carpenters .....	93,544	93,107	402	.43	17.23	15.8
Compositors, Linotypers and Typesetters .....	22,903	22,787	114	.50	4.21	4.48
Coppersmiths .....	552	551	1	.18	.10	.04
Electricians and Electrical Engineers .....	25,195	25,113	76	.30	4.64	2.99
Electrotypers and Stereotypers .....	1,028	1,026	2	.19	.19	.08
Engravers .....	3,157	3,154	3	.10	.58	.12
Foremen and Overseers (mfg.) .....	20,574	20,503	70	.34	3.79	2.75
Forgemen, Hammermen and Welders .....	642	640	2	.31	.11	.08
Lithographers .....	2,842	2,838	2	.07	.52	.08
Loom Fixers .....	569	569	—	—	.10	—
Machinists and Millwrights .....	65,132	64,942	182	.28	7.15	7.15
Molders, Founders and Casters (brass) .....	961	957	4	.42	.17	.16
Molders, Founders and Casters (iron) .....	12,826	12,786	34	.29	2.36	1.45
Painters, Glaziers and Varnishers (bldg.) .....	46,626	46,340	282	.6	8.57	11.08
Paperhangers .....	2,625	2,604	21	.8	.48	.83
Pattern and Model makers .....	2,795	2,791	3	.11	.51	.12
Plasterers .....	7,410	7,336	72	.97	1.35	2.83
Plumbers and Gas and Steam Fitters .....	30,730	30,655	7	.23	5.67	2.79
Pressmen (printing) .....	3,757	3,751	6	.16	.69	.24
Shoemakers and Cobblers (not in factory) .....	12,202	12,149	53	.43	2.24	2.08
Stationary Engineers .....	28,468	28,034	424	1.49	5.19	16.67
Stone cutters .....	5,929	5,907	22	.37	1.09	.86
Structural Iron workers (bldg.) .....	4,037	4,030	6	.15	.74	.24
Tailors .....	57,732	57,498	224	.39	10.64	8.81
Tinsmiths .....	9,608	9,559	47	.49	1.77	1.85
Toolmakers and die setters and sinkers .....	1,228	1,227	1	.08	.22	.04

\*U. S. Census Bureau, 13th Census, 1910, *Population: Occupation, SDG+*, pp. 494-495.

**Table 6**

*Occupational Distribution of Males 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations, by Race, New York State, 1920\**

	All employed	Whites	Negroes	Negro % of all employed	White distrib. (percent) 100.0	Negro distrib. (percent) 100.0
Mfg. & mechl. industries						
Total	628,345	622,940	5,340	.84	3.26	2.94
Bakers	20,507	20,321	157	.77	3.26	2.47
Blacksmiths	14,894	14,756	132	.89	2.36	.51
Boilermakers	6,403	6,374	27	.42	1.02	.24
Brass Molders, founders and casters	891	877	13	1.46	.14	4.48
Brick and stone masons	19,676	19,428	239	1.21	3.11	.69
Cabinetmakers	6,935	6,895	37	.53	1.10	16.05
Carpenters	92,300	91,395	857	.93	14.67	5.79
Compositors, Linotypers and Typesetters	27,894	27,578	309	1.11	4.42	.04
Coppersmiths	761	759	2	.26	.12	1.22
Cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen	2,704	2,638	65	2.4	.42	2.88
Electricians	32,003	31,839	154	.48	5.11	.08
Electrotypers and Stereotypers	1,133	1,128	4	.35	.18	.04
Engravers	3,397	3,395	2	.06	.54	2.45
Foremen and overseers (mfg.)	33,186	33,050	131	.39	5.30	.39
Forgemen, Hammermen, and Welders	2,855	8,833	21	.74	.45	2.23
Iron moulders, Founders and Casters	11,501	11,372	122	1.06	1.82	.11
Lithographers	2,918	2,912	6	.21	.46	.09
Loom Fixers	613	613	—	—	16.05	10.09
Machinists	100,565	99,998	521	.52	5.22	34
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)	33,111	32,561	539	1.63	.59	7.12
Millwrights	3,736	3,716	18	.48	6.58	.28
Painters, Glaziers and Varnishers (bldg.)	41,395	41,003	380	.92	.47	.06
Paperhangers	1,761	1,746	15	.85	.79	1.55
Pattern and Model makers	2,960	2,957	3	.10	5.33	2.45
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	5,056	4,971	83	1.64	1.92	.34
Plumbers and Gas and Steam Fitters	33,382	33,248	131	.39	4.66	.17
Pressmen and Plate Printers	3,329	3,317	12	.36	.58	10.9
Shoemakers and Cobblers (not in factory)	12,102	12,003	98	.81	8.75	.47
Stationary Engineers	29,687	29,042	621	2.09	1.73	.13
Stonecutters	3,429	3,420	9	.26	.54	.34
Structural Iron workers (bldg.)	3,652	3,630	18	.49	.34	.34
Tailors	55,121	54,512	582	1.06	8.75	.47
Tinsmiths and sheet metal workers	10,857	10,832	25	.23	1.73	.13
Toolmakers and die setters and sinkers	7,831	7,821	7	.09	1.25	.13

\* U. S. Census Bureau, 14th Census, 1920, State Compendium, *New York*, SDG, pp. 88-90.

**Table 7**

*Occupational Distribution of Males 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations, by Race, New York State, 1930\**

	All employed	Whites	Negroes	Negro % of all employed	White distrib. (percent) 100.0	Negro distrib. (percent) 100.0
Mfrg. & mechl. industries						
Total	740,945	728,186	12,144	1.63	3.53	2.58
Baker	26,116	25,740	313	1.2	1.20	.8
Blacksmiths	8,869	8,767	97	1.09	.55	2
Boilermakers	4,034	4,010	24	.59	4.24	5.33
Brick and stone masons and tile layers	31,585	30,921	647	2.05	1.16	.49
Cabinetmakers	8,578	8,516	60	.7	15.35	14.12
Carpenters	113,641	111,835	1,715	1.51	4.69	4.38
Compositors, Linotypers and Typesetters	34,767	34,206	532	1.53	.65	.91
Cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen, etc.	4,856	4,740	111	2.29	5.83	3.03
Electricians	42,902	42,511	368	.86	.60	.03
Engravers	4,406	4,401	4	.09	4.89	1.14
Foremen and Overseers (mfg.)	35,829	35,672	139	.39	.24	.12
Forgemen and Hammermen	1,824	1,809	15	.82	1.35	.70
Iron Molders, founders, and casters	5,284	5,117	164	3.1	.35	.11
Lithographers	2,606	2,593	13	.5	9.7	4.16
Mechanics	71,342	70,783	505	.71	5.48	17.47
Mechanics (not otherwise specified), auto fac- tory, garage and repair shops	42,118	39,938	2,121	5.04	.37	.42
Railroads and car shops	2,757	2,703	51	1.85	4.50	4.93
All other industries	33,412	32,779	599	1.79	.52	.06
Millwrights	3,845	3,836	7	.18	10.13	17.26
Painters, Glaziers and Varnishers (bldg.)	75,986	73,828	2,096	2.76	.24	.26
Paperhangers	1,822	1,790	32	1.76	.40	.03
Pattern and Model Makers	2,957	2,953	4	.14	5.62	1.8
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	12,394	11,958	432	3.49	.70	.23
Plumbers and Gas and Steam Fitters	41,207	40,972	219	.53	4.23	4.27
Pressmen and Plate Printers (printing)	5,192	5,160	28	.54	.50	.04
Shoemakers and Cobblers (not in factory)	11,957	11,805	149	1.65	.93	.32
Stationary Engineers	31,377	30,833	519	1.65	6.54	8.85
Stonecutters	3,700	3,695	5	.14	1.58	.44
Structural Iron Workers (bldg.)	6,924	6,830	39	.56	1.13	.07
Tailors	48,753	47,647	1,075	2.20		
Tinsmiths and Sheet metal workers	11,613	11,559	53	.46		
Toolmakers and die setters and sinkers	8,292	8,279	8	.1		

\* U. S. Census Bureau, 15th Census, 1930, Vol. IV-V, *Occupation by States, SDG*, p. 1120.

**Table 8**  
*Race of Employed Persons (Except on Public Emergency Work) by Occupation, New York State, 1940\**

	All employed	Whites	Negroes	Negro % of all employed	White distrib. (percent) 100.0	Negro distrib. (percent) 100.0
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers						
Total .....	590,280	581,480	8,472	1.43	3.93	3.26
Bakers .....	23,223	22,922	277	1.19	.71	.36
Blacksmiths, Forgemmen, Hammermen .....	4,208	4,171	31	.73	.35	.15
Boilermakers .....	2,053	2,040	13	.63	1.47	.57
Cabinetmakers and Patternmakers .....	8,624	8,571	49	.56	7.63	7.63
Carpenters .....	49,635	48,961	647	1.30	4.62	3.36
Compositors and Typesetters .....	27,221	26,918	285	1.04	4.42	2.72
Electricians .....	25,972	25,730	231	.88		
Foremen (N.E.C.) by						
Industry .....	49,014	48,701	293	.59	8.37	3.45
Construction .....	3,893	3,871	17	.35	.66	.20
Manufacturing .....	27,166	27,063	97	.35	4.65	1.14
Transportation, communication utilities .....	10,211	10,158	49	.47	1.74	.57
Miscellaneous industries and services .....	7,744	7,609	130	1.67	1.30	1.53
Inspectors (N.E.C.) .....	7,736	7,709	26	.33	1.32	.30
Locomotive Engineers .....	5,692	5,679	12	.21	.97	.14
Locomotive Firemen .....	3,002	2,985	14	.46	.51	.16
Machinists, Millwrights and tool makers .....	63,602	63,339	227	.35	10.89	2.67
Masons, Tile setters and stone cutters .....	14,309	14,040	268	1.87	2.41	3.16
Mechanics and Repairmen and Loom Fixers...	95,408	92,836	2,523	2.64	15.96	29.78
Molders, metal .....	5,594	5,419	170	3.03	.93	2.00
Painters (construction), Paperhangers and Glaziers .....	49,445	48,094	1,330	2.68	8.27	15.69
Plasterers and cement finishers .....	6,128	5,919	184	3.39	1.01	2.45
Plumbers and Gas and Steam fitters .....	25,069	24,883	208	.73	4.27	2.17
Printing Craftsmen (exc. comp. and Typesetters)	11,024	10,994	29	.26	1.89	.34
Rollers and roll hands, metal .....	1,495	1,442	52	3.47	.24	.61
Roofers and Sheet metal workers .....	11,944	11,882	59	.49	2.04	.69
Shoemakers and Repairer (not in factory) .....	9,314	9,106	206	2.21	1.56	2.43
Stationary Engineers, Cranemen, Hoistmen...	25,797	25,485	292	1.13	4.38	3.44
Structural and Ornamental Metal workers...	4,762	4,654	71	1.49	.80	.83
Tailors and Furriers .....	36,991	36,228	739	1.99	6.23	8.72
Other craftsmen and kindred workers .....	23,018	22,772	236	1.02	3.91	2.78

\* U. S. Census of Population, 16th Census, 1940, *The Labor Force: New York*, Table 13.

**Table 9**

*Active Apprenticeship Programs, New York State, by Administrative Area  
January-September 1958\**

Area	Programs in effect beginning of period	Added, or became active	Cancelled or became inactive	Programs in effect, end of period
New York State.....	2,887	632	891	2,628
Metropolitan .....	1,089	228	416	901
Albany .....	408	43	91	360
Utica .....	245	127	64	308
Binghamton .....	305	101	93	313
Syracuse .....	226	39	62	203
Rochester .....	222	36	59	199
Buffalo .....	392	58	106	344

**Table 10**

*Apprentices in Training, by Administrative Area\*  
January-September 1958*

Area	In training, beginning of period	New entrants reported	Discontin- uances or completions reported	In training, end of period
New York State .....	14,968	3,036	3,940	14,064
Metropolitan .....	8,902	1,605	2,316	8,191
Albany .....	1,291	210	322	1,179
Utica .....	494	233	193	534
Binghamton .....	851	259	233	877
Syracuse .....	823	198	208	813
Rochester .....	792	146	201	737
Buffalo .....	1,815	385	467	1,733

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\* State of New York, Department of Labor, Apprenticeship Council, *Apprenticeship in New York State*, Albany. Data based on reports of field visits made by apprentice training representatives during the period. Does not include apprentices in programs outside the jurisdiction of the State Apprenticeship Council.



Table 11

Most Important Factor in Choice of Trade, by Trades\*

(Percent of Total Number in Each Trade Reporting Specific Factor)

Trade	Rela- tives in the trade	Friends in the trade	Mili- tary experi- ence	School coun- selor	Vet. adm.	Desire to learn trade	Future possi- bilities	Only available opp. for further training	Specific interest in trade	Result of previous experi- ence	No answer
Automotive Body Repairman.....	—	20	10	—	20	—	—	—	30	—	20
Automotive Mechanic .....	12	15	18	1	19	8	—	1	14	2	9
Bricklayer .....	59	19	—	—	3	6	—	—	9	—	13
Cabinetmaker—Millman .....	27	12	8	19	8	8	—	—	8	4	8
Carpenter .....	35	19	6	2	7	3	—	—	12	3	13
Draftsman .....	11	9	5	27	14	20	2	—	7	2	2
Electrician .....	28	18	16	4	3	5	—	—	10	2	13
Machinist .....	23	15	4	23	7	3	2	—	2	2	8
Millwright .....	29	7	7	7	—	—	21	7	14	7	—
Painter-Decorator .....	23	16	2	2	25	2	—	—	18	—	11
Patternmaker, wood .....	28	22	—	6	22	22	—	—	—	—	—
Plumber .....	33	33	4	—	4	5	1	3	8	2	6
Plumber-Steamfitter .....	18	45	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	27
Printer .....	28	26	4	16	—	—	2	—	12	4	8
Sheetmetal worker .....	21	20	2	10	12	7	3	—	13	3	7
Tool and Die-maker .....	19	27	6	9	3	13	1	1	7	3	11
PERCENT OF TOTAL											
RESPONSES .....	26	20	7	7	7	6	1	1	11	3	11

\* Taken in whole from Van Dusen, Edward B., *Apprenticeship in Western New York State*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Research Bulletin No. 2, June 1949, p. 39.

The table is read as follows: in the Automotive Mechanic trade twelve percent reported "relatives in the trade" as the most important factor; fifteen percent reported "friends in the trade" as the most important factor; etc. Only those trades were included in which there were ten or more cases.

**Table 12**

*The Extent that Apprentices Selected the Same Trade as Their Fathers, by Trades\**

	Trade of Father	Same Trade as Father	Percent
Automotive Mechanic .....	2	0	..
Bricklayer .....	13	6	46
Cabinetmaker-Millman .....	6	1	..
Carpenter .....	69	35	51
Draftsman .....	3	0	..
Electrician .....	30	20	67
Machinist .....	57	11	19
Millwright .....	9	1	..
Painter-Decorator .....	25	7	28
Patternmaker, wood .....	5	3	..
Plumber .....	28	15	54
Plumber-Steamfitter .....	1	0	..
Printer .....	10	7	70
Sheetmetal Worker .....	15	9	60
Tool and Die Maker.....	17	9	53
Total .....	290	124	43

\* Taken in whole from Van Dusen, Edward B., *Apprenticeship in Western New York State*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Research Bulletin No. 2, June 1949, p. 44.

The table is read as follows: of the two apprentices who reported their fathers in the automotive mechanic trade, none selected this trade; of the thirteen apprentices who reported their fathers in the bricklayer trade, six chose this trade. This column expresses, as a percent, the ratio of the number of apprentices in a trade to their father's in the specific trade. No percent is given if the number of cases is below ten.

**Table 13\***

**QUESTION:** *Are there any differences between the official and actual way of obtaining an apprenticeship in your firm or committee?*

**RESPONSES:** Total 134  
No 112  
Yes 22

Of those that replied in the affirmative, the following distribution was received.  
*Total 22.*

- (1) Yes, recommendation from friend or union member helps.
- (2) It helps to have someone in the industry.
- (8) Official way is very informal.
- (2) By knowing someone on the job.
- (1) Apprentices are not really under formal agreement.
- (1) Being with the right employer at the right time when he decided to hire.
- (1) It depends on who you know.
- (1) Having a good recommendation.
- (1) Union member vouch for you.
- (1) Applicant known to employer gets preference.
- (1) Chance arrangement with shop foreman or union representative.
- (1) Employer may ask for a specific apprentice.
- (1) Varied referral sources.

\* From the present study questionnaire responses.

**Table 14\***

QUESTION: *Has your firm or committee found it difficult to recruit apprentices for specific job openings?*

RESPONSES: Total Number 134  
No 117  
Yes 17

Of those that replied in the affirmative, the following distribution of answers were received.

- (10) Wages and conditions of work.
- (3) Interest in skilled-craft employment.
- (1) Length of apprenticeship.
- (2) Competition for apprentices is keen.
- (1) Recession.

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\* From the present study questionnaire responses.

### **LIST #1**

*Trades Formally Declared Apprenticeable by the New York State  
Apprenticeship Council as of August 2, 1956\**

Abrasive laboratory mechanic	Carpenter
Aircraft engine mechanic	Cement finisher (3)
Aircraft and engine service mechanic	Color mixer (wallpaper or window shade cloth)
Aircraft instrument mechanic	Comb fixer (3)
Aircraft sheetmetal worker	Commercial and advertising artist (5)
Airline mechanic	Commercial photographer (3)
Asbestos worker	Commercial and portrait photographer (3)
Auto body repairman and painter	Commercial pressmen (5)
Automobile mechanic	Compositor (6)
Automotive machinist	Cook (chef) (3 and 4)
Baker (3 and 4)	Cooper (3)
Barber (2)	Coppersmith
Beer pump and block tin plumber (5)	Coremaker
Blacksmith	Crystal cutter (3)
Boatbuilder	Cylinder press assistant (2½)
Boilermaker	Cylinder pressman (5)
Bookbinder	Dental mechanic
Bookbinder, edition	Designer (steel plate engraver) (5)
Bookbinder, looseleaf (5)	Diamond cutter (3)
Bookbinder, pamphlet (5)	Diamond setter
Brewer (2)	Die and plate prover
Bricklayer (chimney) (3)	Die engraver (steel plate engraver)
Bricklayer (refractory)	Die maker (4 or 5)
Bricklayer-mason (3 and 4)	Die maker (paper goods)
Brush maker (artist)	Die maker (shoe)
Burglar alarm mechanic	Die sinker (8)
Bus body repairman (or truck body repairman)	Die stamper pressman
Bus electrician (or truck electrician)	Diesel engine mechanic
Bus mechanic (or truck mechanic)	Draftsman, architectural
Bus refinisher (painter) or truck refinisher (painter)	Draftsman, electrical
Business machine mechanic (2½)	Draftsman, marine
Cabinetmaker	Draftsman, mechanical
Cable splicer (telephone)	Draftsman, structural
Card fixer (3)	Drawing frame fixer (3)
	Dyer (textile) (3)

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\* All terms of apprenticeship are *four years* unless otherwise noted.

Electric motor repairman  
 Electrical lineman  
 Electrician (4 and 5)  
 Electronic laboratory technician (or electronic technician)  
 Electrotyper (6)  
 Elevator electrician  
 Elevator mechanic  
 Engraver (bank note script; or square letter) (7)  
 Engraver and die cutter (5)  
 Farm machinery and equipment mechanic  
 Fire alarm mechanic  
 Furniture finisher (painter) (3)  
 Furrier  
 Garment cutter (men's clothing) (2)  
 Garment cutter (women's coats) (2)  
 Glass blower (4 or 6½)  
 Glass engraver with copper wheels  
 Glass engraver (cut glass)  
 Glazier (3)  
 Glazier (stained glass)  
 Glove cutter, table (2)  
 Goldsmith  
 Granite cutter (3)  
 Gunsmith  
 Harp maker  
 Hat block carver  
 Hat machine mechanic  
 Hub cutter (jewelry) (also referred to as die sinker, jewelry)  
 Industrial truck mechanic  
 Instrument maker (4 or 5)  
 Instrument mechanic  
 Iron worker (2)  
 Jacquard card cutter (3)  
 Jacquard harness tier  
 Jacquard loom fixer  
 Jeweler (hand made) (3¾)  
 Jeweler (production) (2¾)  
 Jewelry caster (2½)  
 Jewelry chaser (2¾)  
 Jewelry engraver (2¾)  
 Jewelry lapper (3½)  
 Jewelry moldmaker (3)  
 Jewelry polisher (or mirror lapper) (2¾)  
 Job press assistant (2)  
 Job pressman (5)  
 Knitting machine fixer  
 Lather, metal (3)  
 Lather, metal and wire (3)  
 Lather, wood (2)  
 Lather, wood, wire and metal (3)  
 Linoleum and resilient tile layer (3 and 4)  
 Linoleum, resilient tile and carpet layer (or linoleum, soft tile and carpet layer) (3 and 4)  
 Lithographic artist (5)  
 Lithographic ben day artist (5)  
 Lithographic dot etcher (5)  
 Lithographic photographer (5)  
 Lithographic platemaker (5)  
 Lithographic press operator  
 Lithographic pressman  
 Lithographic stripper (5)  
 Lithographic transferrer (5)  
 Locksmith  
 Loomfixer  
 Machine tool mechanic (3 or 4)  
 Machinist  
 Mailer (newspaper) (5 and 6)  
 Maintenance electrician  
 Maintenance machinist (4 or 5)  
 Marble bed rubber  
 Marble carver, cutter and setter  
 Marble polisher  
 Meat cutter (2 or 3)  
 Metal plater (3)  
 Metal polisher (3)  
 Metal spinner (custom)  
 Millman  
 Millwright  
 Model maker (jewelry)  
 Mold maker  
 Molder  
 Molder and Coremaker  
 Molder and finisher (hat block die)  
 Mosaic worker  
 Music engraver  
 Newspaper (web) pressman (5)  
 Operating engineer (2 and 3)  
 Optical laboratory technician  
 Optical lens grinder  
 Ornamental die sinker (5)  
 Ornamental iron worker (3 and 4)  
 Painter and decorator (3)  
 Painter, decorator and paperhanger (3)  
 Pantograph machine die sinker  
 Paper ruler  
 Patternmaker (metal) (5)  
 Patternmaker (shoe)  
 Patternmaker (wood) (5)  
 Photo engraver (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)  
 Photo engraver: ben day artist (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)  
 Photo engraver: cylinder grinder and polisher (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)  
 Photo engraver: etcher (includes printer) (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)  
 Photo engraver: finisher and engraver (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)

\* All terms of apprenticeship are *four years* unless otherwise noted.

Photo engraver: negative stripper or layout (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)	Router engraver (steel plate engraver)
Photo engraver: photographer (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)	Saddle maker (3)
Photo engraver: proofer (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)	Sailmaker
Photo engraver: retoucher (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)	Scale serviceman (3)
Photo engraver: router (also gravure; roto-gravure) (5 and 6)	Sewing machine mechanic
Photo etcher (steel plate engraver)	Sheetmetal worker
Picture engraver (steel plate engraver) (5)	Sheetmetal worker (iron plate)
Pipe organ builder and repairman	Ship carpenter
Pipe fitter (5)	Ship joiner
Pipe fitter (maintenance)	Shipfitter
Plasterer (3 and 4)	Shipwright
Plate finisher (burnisher-alterationist)	Shirt cutter (short knife) (3)
Plate finisher (plate hammerer) (5)	Shoe cutter (hard sole)
Plate finisher (die finisher) (6)	Shoe maker—custom (orthopedic)
Plate maker (steel plate printing)	Siderographer (7)
Plate printer pressman	Signwriter and pictorial painter
Plumber (5)	Silversmith
Plumber and steamfitter (5)	Spinning frame fixer (3)
Pottery kilnman (3)	Stained glass artist
Pottery presser and caster (5)	Stationary engineer
Press hand (jewelry) (2½)	Steamfitter (5)
Precision optics polisher (hand and machine)	Stereotyper (6)
Pressman (5)	Stone carver and engraver (3)
Print cutter (wallpaper) (5)	Stone cutter (building trades)
Print roller router	Stone mason
Printer pressman (wallpaper)	Stone setter (jewelry) (3)
Printing typesetting machinist (6)	Stone setter mason
Prosthetic appliance mechanic	Tailor (custom)
Putter-on sketch maker (wallpaper) (5)	Terrazzo worker (3)
Radio repairman	Textile finisher (3)
Radio and television repairman	Tile setter (3)
Ring faceteer (2½)	Tool and die maker (4 or 5)
Roll turner	Tool and jig builder (4 or 5)
Roofer (3 or 4)	Toolmaker (4 or 5)
Rose grower	Toolmaker (jewelry) (3)
	Trimmer die maker
	Twister frame fixer (3)
	Upholsterer (custom) (3 and 4)
	Watchmaker (repairman)
	Web pressman (5)
	Wood carver, hand
	Wool sorter (3)

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\* All terms of apprenticeship are *four years* unless otherwise noted.

## APPENDIX B

### METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In the early fall of 1957, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination undertook an analysis of the position of Negroes in apprenticeship programs in the state. As indicated in Chapter VI, the study represented a continuation of a Commission effort to establish the status of Negroes in formal, skilled training programs and to seek to remove existing barriers to the full participation by Negroes or other minority groups in such programs.

As an initial step in the study, a review was undertaken of the general and special literature on apprenticeship and related problem areas. This review served the twin purposes of providing materials for the analysis and of allowing for a more precise formulation of the empirical portions of the analysis. The magnitude of this phase of the study is reflected in the selected bibliography in Appendix C.

From this first phase of the research, tentative guiding ideas relative to the problem area were formulated. Further insights into the apprenticeship process were also gained from informal conversations with staff personnel of the New York State Department of Labor, the Apprenticeship Council and a number of private organizations.

The next stage of the study was devoted to the construction of interview schedules. It was originally contemplated that interviews would be conducted with staff personnel of the Apprenticeship Council and the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship, Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices, and firms and joint apprenticeship committees actually engaged in indenturing youths. When cooperation from the governmental agencies involved was not forthcoming, interviews with such personnel were dropped.

An inability to easily locate Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices and a lack of resources, culminated in a decision to abandon this segment or the "success model" phase of the study.

Accordingly, the empirical portion of the study was confined to interviews with key personnel of firms and joint apprenticeship committees in registered apprenticeship programs in New York State. The names and addresses of the firms and J.A.C.'s were provided by the Division of Research and Statistics of the New York State Department of Labor, as were the names of the knowledgeable individual in each program. The list itself is based on records of the Department of Labor as of the third quarter of 1957.

Analysis of the lists showed that the 170 firms and J.A.C.s indenturing five or more apprentices employed 77.6 percent of the registered apprentices in the state. These 170 constituted 7.4 percent of all indenturing firms and J.A.C.'s. The facility with which interviews could be conducted with this relatively small number of indenturing units, and the assumption that Negroes are more apt to be indentured by units having large labor forces, led to a decision to confine the analysis to units indenturing five or more apprentices, as of the third quarter of 1957.

As a result, it must be noted that none of the conclusions presented in this analysis pertain to indenturing units holding fewer than five apprentices, to units which are not registered with the New York State Apprenticeship Council, or to agencies of the United States Government conducting apprenticeship programs in New York State under provisions of the Civil Service Act. Based upon conversations with knowledgeable people, it is thought that no appreciable difference in the pattern of employment of Negro apprentices would issue from an analysis of such units.

After the selection of the sample, (which is attached and includes the name of the indenturing unit, the number of apprentices indentured as of the third quarter of 1957, and its regional location), staff personnel of the Commission administered the interview schedules, a copy of which is attached, to key officials of the sample members. Pre-tests of the schedules had been carried out in advance of the actual interviewing, which took place between January 1958 and January 1959.

Of the 170 sample members, successful interviews were completed with 134, or 77 percent. The large response was due in part to the ability of a state agency to gain information and to the cooperative attitude of the vast majority of indenturing units. Coverage ran from a high of 100 percent in the Albany region to a low of 40 percent in the Rochester area, and was balanced for all trades.

Upon completion of the interviewing, the information was tabulated by hand according to standard procedures and then utilized for the body of the analysis. Under appropriate circumstances, competent observers may be granted permission by SCAD to view the raw data, information, tables and lists which were not included in the study.

## LIST 1

Firms and Joint Apprenticeship Committees Indenturing Five or More  
Registered Apprentices as of September, 1957, by number, by area.

### *N. Y. Metropolitan Area* 10 and over

	No. of Apprentices
Electrical Ind. JAC NY & Vic. Loc.....	628
Carpenters JAC of Middleton No. 57.....	17
Carpenters JAC of Suffolk Co.....	73
Carpenters JAC NYC.....	1,089
JAC of Carpet & Linoleum Layers.....	27
Sheet Metal JAC Nassau & Suffolk Co.....	66
Plumber JAC Nassau Co. Local 457.....	19
Electricians JAC of Newburgh.....	24
Joint Marble Ind. JAC.....	16
Plumbers Bklyn. & Queens JAC.....	88
Carpenters JAC Westchester County.....	295
NY Newspaper Ptg. Web Pressmans No. ....	70
NY Printing Press Asst. Union No. ....	64
Plumbers Local No. 86 JAC.....	96
Oper. Plas. & Cem. Fin. Local 30.....	39
NY Ptg. Pressmens JAC Union 51.....	119
Plumbers JAC of White Plains.....	55
Iron Workers JAC Newburg, Rock., Dutch.....	36
Painters, Dec. & Paperhangers.....	86
JAC Ornamental Iron Workers.....	122
Elec. JAC Rockland, NY & Vic.....	34
JAC Orn. Iron Workers Local 580.....	28
American Bank Note Co.....	14
Joint Bricklayers App. Adm. Board.....	683
Stonesetters JAC of NY.....	14
Cement Workers Local 780.....	80
JAC Plumbing Industry of NYC LO.....	164
ITU Printers Number 6.....	717
Plumbers JAC Richmond.....	37
Plumbers & Steamfitters of Rockland.....	14
Sheetmetal JAC Local 38.....	81
JAC Elect. Ind. Nassau & Suffolk.....	99
Westchester Fair. Elect. JAC Inc.....	240
Plastering Ind. JAC Local No. 60.....	47
Plasterers JAC Local 408, Queens.....	11

Plasterers JAC Queens, Nassau, Suffolk Local 852.....	19
Carpenters JAC of Nassau County.....	134
Upholsterers JAC of NY Local 740.....	19
Bookbinders JAC NY Inc.....	64
Gray Iron Foundries JAC New York.....	16
Sheetmetal Workers JAC Local 28.....	314
Plumbers JAC of Yonkers.....	19
Jewelry Industry JAC .....	101
Joint Steamfitters App. Comm. NYC.....	166
Structural Iron Workers No. 40 and 3.....	66
Joint Elec. App. Comm. Motor Rep. No.....	76
Elevator Ind. Assn. IBEW No. 3.....	93
Steamfitters JAC of West., Putnam & Dutchess.....	37
Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers JAC.....	20
Bricklayers & Masons JAC Newburgh.....	18
Bricklayers, Masons JAC Rockland County.....	10
Carpenters Lin. Layers of Newburgh.....	12
Carpenters Lin. Layers of Rockland Co.....	29
Bricklayers JAC of Westchester Co.....	105
Photo Engravers JAC NY Local 1.....	295
Amalgamated Litho. JAC NY Local 1.....	176
American Bank Note Co.....	14
New York Central RR System.....	52
Otis Elevator Co. ....	25
R. Hoe & Co. Inc.....	45
Trade Bindery .....	14
Automatic Fire Alarm Co.....	14

5-9

Wiechert Laboratories Inc. ....	5
William W. Fitzhugh Inc.....	5
Bell Telephone Lab. Inc. ....	6
Orenduff & Kappel Inc.....	7
Print. & Typog. Newburgh Local 305.....	5
Publishers Assoc. NYC Mailers Union.....	6
Mosaic & Terrazzo Workers JAC.....	6
Brewers Board of Trade JAC.....	8
Westchester Cnty. 366 App. & Acc. JAC.....	9
Beer Pump & Black Tin Plumbers JAC.....	6
Carpenters JAC Monroe Vicinity.....	5
Liberty Cutting Die Co.....	5
Paramount Design Company.....	5
Schneider & Marquard Inc.....	8
Schwab & Wuischpard.....	5
Sperry Gyroscope Co. ....	9
Industrial Lithographic Co. ....	6
JFD Manufacturing Co. Inc.....	5
J. Volkert Metal Stamping Co.....	8
Kollsman Instrument Corp. ....	6
Engravers Lodge 2136 IAM.....	5

*Albany*

10 and over

Armory Garage Inc.....	12
Capitol Electro-Type Co.....	14
Glens Falls Post Co.....	10
Sandy Hill Iron & Brass Works.....	20
Times Union .....	13
Watervliet Arsenal .....	112
N. Y. Central Railroad System.....	10
International Business Machines Corp.....	31



## 5-9

Freeman Pub Co.....	5
Greenwood Co. Inc.....	9
Henry A. Olsen Inc. & USTC & DW 99.....	6
Ludlaw Valve Mfg. Co. Inc. & Local 365.....	6
Modern Design Div. of HC Schloer.....	6
Plattsburgh Publ. Co. Inc. & Loc. 769.....	5
Poughkeepsie Newspapers Inc.....	5
Press Co. Inc.....	5
The Maqua Company.....	8
Troy Record Co. & PPA No. 23.....	5
Western Pr. & Litho Co. Inc. & PPA 4.....	7
Hoe Corp. & United Bor. of Carpenters.....	9
Butts Donalk .....	6

## *Binghamton*

### 10 and over

Bendix Aviation Corp.....	24
Corning Glass Works.....	84
International Business Machines Corp.....	22
Moore Business Forms Inc.....	12
Thatcher Glass Mfg. Co. Inc.....	16
Vail Ballou Press.....	14
Remington Rand of Sperry Rand.....	42

## 5-9

Oneonta Star .....	5
Universal Instruments Corp.....	6
Smith Corona Inc. ....	8
GE Metal Products.....	5
Crown Industries Inc.....	8

## *Buffalo*

### 10 and over

Carborundum Co. ....	12
Dupont De Nemours & Co. Inc.....	45
Ford Motor Co. Stamping Plant.....	124
Albright, Alvin C.....	25
Kimberly Clark Corp.....	14
New York Central RR System.....	13
Symington Gould Corp.....	13
Worthington Corporation .....	45
Spaulding Fibre Co. Inc.....	29

## 5-9

Buffalo Bolt Co.....	7
Buffalo Tool & Die Mfg. Co.....	5
Chisholm Ryder Co. Inc.....	7
Dunkirk Printing Co. ....	6
Atlantic Industrial Service.....	6
Moore Business Forms Inc.....	9
Niagara Falls Gazette.....	7
Pivot Punch & Die Corp.....	6
S. B. Whetler & Sons Inc.....	6
Photo Engravers JAC of Niag. Front.....	5

*Rochester*

10 and over

NY Central RR.....	28
Rochester Products Div. of GM.....	27
Alliance Tool & Die Corp.....	13
American Can Co.....	15
Bausch & Lomb Optical Co.....	16
Delco Appliance Div. GM Co.....	20
Gannett Co. Inc.....	11

5-9

American Can Co.....	6
Baker Britt Corp.....	5
Doehler Jarius Div.....	9
Liberty Tool & Die Corp.....	7
W. F. Humphery Press Inc. ....	8
William P. Stein Co. Inc.....	6
Genessee Electrotpe .....	6
Shur Optical Co.....	9

*Syracuse*

10 and over

Black Clawson Paper Mach. Div.....	22
Carrier Corp. ....	16
Smith Corona Inc.....	15
New York Air Brake Co.....	24
N. Y. Central RR.....	36
Syracuse Herald Journal.....	10

5-9

Allen Tool Corp.....	7
Auburn Button Works Inc.....	5
Brown, Lipe, Chapin Div. Gnl. Motors Co.....	5
The Firth Carpet Co.....	5
Hungerford Holbrook Co.....	7

*Utica*

10 and over

Aluminum Co. of America.....	134
Baronet Litho Co. Inc.....	6
Oneida LTD .....	18
Rome State School.....	5
Walsh, Perini, Morrison Co.....	24

5-9

Baronet Litho Co. Inc.....	6
Utica Observer Dispatch Inc.....	9
Sovereign Const. Corp.....	6

NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION  
DIVISION OF RESEARCH, ROOM 1818, 270 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK CITY

Form C

(Note: The information elicited from this questionnaire will be treated in the strictest confidence by the State Commission Against Discrimination and will in no way be used to identify individuals responding to the questionnaire.)

1. What is the name and address of your firm? .....
- .....
2. What is your official title? .....
3. What type of business is your firm mainly engaged in? .....
- .....
4. How many persons are employed by your firm in the following categories
 

White Collar	Total	Negro Production	Total	Negro
Professional	.....	..... Skilled	.....	.....
Managerial	.....	..... Semi-skilled	.....	.....
Clerical-sales	.....	..... Labor and service	.....	.....
5. When was your apprenticeship program certified by the State Apprenticeship Council? .....
6. How many apprentices are currently employed by the firm
 

Total.....	Negro.....
------------	------------
- 6a. What is the maximum permissible number of apprentices that can be employed?
7. With what unions do you cooperate in apprenticeship programs? .....
- .....
- .....
8. Do any of them have restrictions as to the number of apprentices that can be employed at any given time? Check:
 

.....	.....
Yes	No
- 8a. If yes, what are the restrictions and ratio of apprentices to other workers?
9. If your firm does not have many or any Negro apprentices, list all of the important reasons which you think are responsible for this condition:
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....

10. Based on your knowledge of the situation, how do you think most youths become interested in apprenticeship in the first place?

.....  
.....  
.....

11. How do you think most youths learn about *specific* apprentice job openings in your industry?

.....  
.....

12. Are there any differences between the official and actual ways of getting into any apprenticeship program in your firm. If so, what are they?

.....  
.....  
.....

13. If a qualified Negro applied to your firm for an apprenticeship job that was currently open, would he have the same chance to obtain it as an equally qualified white youth? Check:

.....  
Yes                      No

.....  
If not, why not? .....

.....  
.....

14. Has your firm found it difficult to recruit youths for specific apprentice job-openings? Check:

.....  
Yes                      No

.....  
14a. If yes, what do you think is the reason for this situation? .....

.....  
.....

15. What would you suggest to get more youths into apprenticeship training?

.....  
.....

15a. In addition to the above, what would you suggest to place more minority youths into apprenticeship programs:

.....  
.....

## APPENDIX C

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